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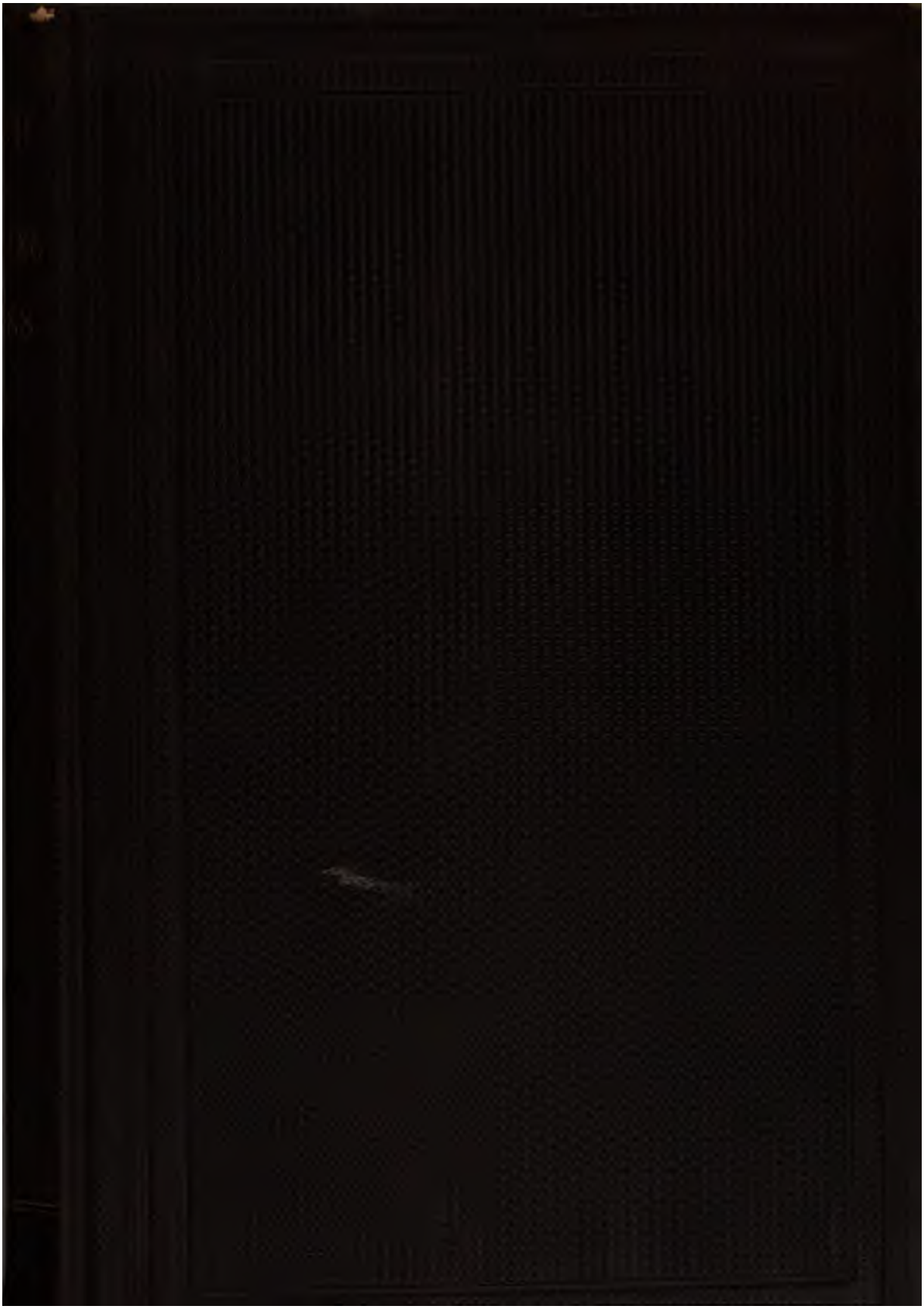

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THE CHURCH

OF THE

FIRST THREE CENTURIES:

OR,

NOTICES OF THE LIVES AND OPINIONS OF THE EARLY FATHERS,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY;

ILLUSTRATING ITS

LATE ORIGIN AND GRADUAL FORMATION.

BY

ALVAN LAMSON, D. D.

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PREFACE.

The title prefixed to the present work sufficiently indicates its purpose. Of the articles contained in it, some have a more direct reference to the opinions of Christian antiquity, respecting the Son and the Spirit, than others. In some, this topic is most largely dwelt upon; in one or two, it is but slightly noticed; in all, it receives more or less attention. As to the other matter contained in the volume, historical and biographical, or such as relates to the opinions, usages, and social habits, which marked the early ages, and the merits and defects of the Fathers as critics and expositors, it is sufficient to say, that I have proceeded on the supposition, that its introduction would enhance the value and interest of the work.

I have not written as the organ of any party. I have wished simply to make the volume a repository of facts, particularly connected with the opinions of Christians of the first three centuries, on the nature and rank of the Son and the Spirit; and I have spared no pains in the endeavor to give the exact expressions of the great church teachers of the period included in my survey, with copious and minute references. I offer the book as a help to inquirers

who may wish to know what the early Fathers really thought and said. A portion of the materials was given to the public, many years ago, in the pages of a review. These materials I have elaborated with some care, dividing the whole into chapters, and omitting, changing, and adding, to render the work better suited to the end I have had in view. I have endeavored to exclude all personalities, and everything which might give just cause of offence to any individual, or any class of Christians.

With these few prefatory remarks, I leave the book to the charitable judgment of the public.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of this work was published in 1860, and has been for some time out of print. The present edition contains large additions, the Preliminary Chapter on the Apostolic Fathers being entirely new, as are also the Note on the Epistle to Diognetus, and the principal part of the articles on the "Fathers subsequent to Justin Martyr and before the time of Clement of Alexandria," and on the "Writers subsequent to the time of Origen and before the rise of the Arian Controversy." These additions give a completeness to the work, so far as it relates to the history of early opinions on the subject of the Trinity, which greatly enhances its value. Considerable additions and alterations have been made in other parts of the volume, the whole having been carefully revised by the lamented author, before his decease, with a view to the printing of a new edition. The materials left by him for this purpose were, in accordance with his expressed wish, placed in the hands of the present editor for revision and publication. He has verified nearly all the quotations and references in the volume, and has added a few notes, which are followed by the abbreviation "ED.," and enclosed in brackets. In two instances, also, (pp. 10, 67, 68,) it appeared necessary to insert in brackets short additions to the text, founded on manuscript memoranda of the author, which, though indicating his purpose to make such additions, were not left in a condition suitable for publication.

EZRA ABBOT.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., May 27th, 1865.

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IN treating of the lives and opinions of some of the Fathers of the Church, down to the time of the Council of Nice, the question may possibly occur, Why begin with Justin Martyr? Were there none before him? The reply is, most of those who went before are to us little else than shadows seen through the dim mist of antiquity, — their outlines too imperfectly defined to admit of accurate description or analysis. They are bloodless phantoms, well-nigh formless and void. The record of their lives has perished, or is so blended with fable, that it is impossible to separate fact from fiction. If we inquire for their writings, we encounter darkness and uncertainty at every step. Some curiosity, however, may be felt to know which, if any, of the writings ascribed to those fathers are entitled to respect as probably, or possibly, genuine; and what, genuine or forged, they teach on topics particularly discussed in the present volume. Our purpose in this preliminary chapter is to say something on these subjects. The writings to which we refer are those generally which pass under the name of the Apos-

tolic Fathers, so called from having been, as tradition says, hearers, or, at least, contemporaries of the Apostles. We begin with

Clement of Rome.

Clement presided over the Church of Rome at an early period, and is called its bishop. Whether he was the Clement mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians (iv. 3) as his fellow-laborer, is uncertain. The genuineness, in the main, of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, attributed to him, — written in the name of the church at Rome, — though not established beyond dispute, has no slight external evidence in its favor. It may be accepted as, for the most part, genuine, though it has come down to us only in a single manuscript, and, as Mr. Norton observes, "this copy is considerably mutilated; in some passages the text is manifestly corrupt, and other passages have been suspected of being interpolations." * This opinion Mr. Norton shares with many learned and judicious critics, who have been unwilling to acknowledge the whole piece to have been a pure fabrication. Neander asserts that it is "not exempt from important interpolations," and that we find in it a "possible contradiction," showing that if genuine in part, it is not wholly so.†

The Epistle, which was written in Greek, was, according to the testimony of Eusebius, publicly read in many churches before his time, and in his own day.‡ In some places it continued to be read in public, it would seem, down to the time of Jerome, who lived in the latter part of the fourth and early in the fifth century.§ Neither of these writers expresses any doubt of its genuineness.

But whether genuine or not, it is undoubtedly an early document, supposed to have been written near the end of the

* *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i., Additional Notes, p. ccxli., 2d edit.

† *Hist. of the Christian Religion and Church*, i. 658, Torrey's translation.

‡ *Hist.*, iii. 16, and iv. 23. [It was received as genuine, apparently by Hegesippus, and certainly by Dionysius of Corinth (A. D. 170), Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Eusebius (iii. 38) speaks of it "as universally acknowledged." — Ed.]

§ *De Viris Illust.*, c. 15.

first century.* If that be the date of the composition, it was in existence from a third to half a century before Justin Martyr — in whose works, still extant, no mention of it occurs — wrote his first Apology. Independently of the position of its reputed author, its antiquity, if nothing else, entitles it to notice in the inquiry in which we are now engaged. What traces, then, does it contain of the modern doctrine of the Trinity? It contains not the faintest trace of the supreme divinity of the Son or of the Spirit.

The contents of the Epistle are almost entirely practical, and it has very little to do with speculative theology of any sort, quotations from the Old Testament constituting a large portion of it. Speaking of the Christology of Clement, Bunsen, as above referred to, says, "It is preposterous to ask him after the three Persons of the Pseudo-Athanasian creed." Nor, we add, does Justin's doctrine of the Logos, as a great preëxistent power, a hypostatized attribute, by whom, as his instrument or minister, God performed the act of creation, appear in the Epistle. God made all things by a direct exertion of his power. "By his almighty power he established the heavens, and by his incomprehensible wisdom he adorned them. He also divided the earth from the water, ... and the living creatures that are upon it he called into being by his command. .... With his holy and pure hands he also formed man, the most excellent of all, and in intellect the most exalted, the impress of his own image." † "Let us make man in our own image, after our own likeness," etc., is quoted, but no intimation is given that the author supposed it addressed to the Son. God is sole, infinite, and supreme Creator of the material universe, using no instrument or artificer (rational power or Logos) to execute his commands. The doctrine of Philo and the Alexandrians is not found in the Epistle. Its language is far more simple than that of Philo and the Platonizing fathers.

If we turn to the new moral or spiritual creation, we shall find, that, whenever God and Christ are spoken of in connection with it, the author makes a broad distinction between

* Bunsen says, between the years 78 and 86. *Christianity and Mankind,* (or *Hippolytus and his Age,*) i. 44.

† Cap. 33.

the supreme, infinite One, the fountain of all peace and love, and Jesus Christ, *through* whom the benefits of his mercy were conveyed to the world. Of this we have an example at the very commencement of the Epistle. Thus, "by the will of God, *through* Jesus Christ our Lord"; and again, "Grace and peace from Almighty God, *through* Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you." And this distinction is observed throughout the Epistle. Prayer is mentioned as addressed to God and not to Christ. God "sends"; Jesus is "sent." "The Apostles preached to us from our Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent from God, the Apostles from Christ; both being fitly done according to the will of God." * Jesus Christ is "the high priest of our offerings..... Through him we look up to the heights of heaven..... Through him the eyes of our hearts were opened..... Through him would the Sovereign Ruler (ὁ δεσπότης) have us to taste the knowledge of immortality." † So all is of God. Referring to the resurrection the author says, God has "*made* our Lord Jesus Christ the first fruits, raising him from the dead." ‡ He is mentioned as the "*chosen*" of the Father, but nothing is said of his nature, nor is his preëxistence distinctly asserted in any part of the Epistle, though some have professed to find an intimation of it in certain expressions employed by the writer, which, however, prove nothing to the point.§ He is called "the sceptre of the majesty of God," ‖ language which implies instrumentality, not identity or equality of person. The term God is not once applied to him. But he is clearly distinguished from the one only God in the following passages, in addition to those already given. "Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one spirit of grace (or love) poured out upon us?" Again, the writer speaks of "the true and only God"; the "great artificer and Sovereign Ruler of all"; "the all-seeing God and Ruler of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose our Lord Jesus Christ." ¶ In what different language the Son is spoken of has been already seen.

* Cap. 42. † Cap. 36. ‡ Cap. 24.

§ See Martini, *Versuch einer pragmat. Geschichte des Dogma von der Gottheit Christi*, etc., p. 24.

‖ Cap. 16. ¶ Cap. 46, 43, 20, 58.

We have quoted, we believe, the highest expressions applied to Christ in the Epistle. Certainly his supreme divinity is nowhere taught in this relic of Christian antiquity. That he is a distinct being from the Father, and altogether subordinate, is the prevailing idea of the whole composition. Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, complains that the writer of the Epistle, though "he calls our Lord Jesus Christ our high priest and leader, yet does not ascribe to him the divine and higher qualities." * That is, says Lardner, "in modern language, it is a Socinian Epistle." Certainly the language of Photius is very significant, coming from such a source.†

The ascription of "glory," or "glory, dominion," etc., occurs six times in the Epistle. In four of these cases God is expressly, clearly, and unequivocally the object. Thus, "the omnipotent God, ... to whom be glory forever and ever." ‡ Again, "the Most High, ... to whom be glory forever and ever." § Again, "God who chose our Lord Jesus Christ, . . .

* *Biblioth.*, cod. 126; tom. i. p. 95, ed. Bekker.

† An argument for the deity of Christ, founded on the misconception of a passage in Clement's Epistle, is thus disposed of by a writer in the *Christian Examiner* for May, 1860: — "Nor does Clement anywhere use the expression 'the passion of God,' or anything like it. The passage referred to is cap. 2 of his genuine Epistle to the Corinthians, where we have the expression *παθήματα αὐτοῦ*, — *τοῦ θεοῦ* indeed being the nearest antecedent. If we insist that he wrote with strict grammatical accuracy, and reject the conjectural emendation of Junius (Young), a Trinitarian, of *μαθήματα* for *παθήματα*, (the Epistle being extant in but a single manuscript,) we simply make Clement a Patripassian; for the term *θεός* in every other passage of the Epistle unquestionably denotes the Father. But even Dorner, in his great work (*Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. 189), says that he 'does not venture to use this passage as a proof that Clement calls Christ God.' He adopts the easy supposition of a negligent use of the pronoun *αὐτός*, referring to Christ in the mind of the writer, though not named in the immediately preceding context. The same view of the passage is taken by Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, i. 46, note, 2d ed.; by Martini, *Versuch*, etc., p. 24, note; and by Reuss, *Théologie Chrétienne*, ii. 326, 2e éd. Of this use of *αὐτός* we have another remarkable example in Clement, c. 36, and it is not uncommon in the New Testament, especially in the writings of John; see Winer, *Gram.* § 22. 3. 4, 6th ed., and Robinson's N. T. Lex., article *αὐτός*, 2. b. *ad fin.* This passage is the sole straw to which those can cling who maintain that Clement of Rome believed in the deity of Christ; a notion in direct contradiction to the whole tenor of his language in every other part of his Epistle." — pp. 466, 467.

‡ Cap. 32. § Cap. 45.

through whom be glory and majesty, power, honor unto him both now, and forever and ever." * Once more, in the ascription at the close of the Epistle, we have, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all that are anywhere called by God through him; through whom be unto him (God) glory, honor, might, and majesty, and eternal dominion, from everlasting to everlasting." In these passages the "glory, dominion," etc., are expressly ascribed to God, either absolutely and without reference to Christ, as in the first and second instances, or *through* Jesus Christ, as in the last two. In one of the remaining instances we have simply, "Chosen by God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever"; † and in the other a similar construction.‡ If the ascription here is to be referred to the nearer, and not, as is possible, to the remoter antecedent, by a negligence of syntax of which there are known examples in the New Testament and in the writings of Christian antiquity, there is no difficulty in reconciling it with the supremacy of the Father, so strongly asserted, or necessarily implied, in the current language of the Epistle. The Scriptures ascribe glory and dominion to Christ, but a derived glory and dominion, God having "*made* him both Lord and Christ," and "*given* him a name above every name." § With this the language of the Epistle is throughout consistent.

We repeat, in conclusion, one searches in vain, in the Epistle ascribed to this Apostolic Father, for those views of the Logos, as a personified attribute of the Father, which are so prominent in the writings of the philosophical converts to Christianity. The language employed is more scriptural, the thoughts less subtle and metaphysical, the author being content to represent God as the fountain of all power and blessing, and Jesus Christ as his Son, sent by him to be the Saviour of men. The Father is above all; his glory and majesty are underived; the Son derives from him his power and dignity, his offices and dominion. Such are the teachings of this old relic of the primitive ages. The personality of the Spirit is not one of its doctrines.

* Cap. 58. † Cap. 50. ‡ Cap. 20.

§ See Acts, ii. 33, 36; Philippians, ii. 9; Ephesians, i. 20–22; 1 Peter, i. 21.

What is called Clement's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, or the fragment of it which is preserved, has no title, as the best critics agree, to be received as genuine. Eusebius says that it was quoted by no ancient writer.* There are other compositions which have been ascribed to Clement, but they are all by competent critics now rejected as spurious.

The Shepherd of Hermas.

There is a Hermas mentioned by St. Paul (Romans xvi. 14), to whom this work has been attributed. It is undoubtedly an ancient writing. Eusebius speaks of it as publicly read in the churches,† and Jerome tells us that it was read in some churches of Greece, that is, if we understand him, in his day, but that it was almost unknown to the Latins.‡ Both name Hermas as the reputed author, but neither affirms that he was so. Both speak with hesitation and reserve. The work is also quoted or referred to by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen. Justin Martyr does not quote it. It has been ascribed to the end of the first century. But Mr. Norton, who discusses the question of its date with his usual acuteness and learning, concludes from evidence furnished by a "fragment" of Christian antiquity published by Muratori in 1740, that it was "not written till about the year 150." §

Bunsen, who also uses the Muratorian fragment, attributed by him to Hegesippus, arrives at a conclusion not very dissimilar. He supposes that the "fragment" was written about the year 170. It says of the Shepherd of Hermas, that it was "written at Rome very recently, in our own times, by Hermas; while his brother Pius occupied the episcopal chair. Now, according to the vulgar chronology, Pius became Bishop of Rome A. D. 142; Bunsen makes the time of his episcopate to extend from A. D. 132 or 133 to 157. Either chronology, Bunsen's or the vulgar, would authorize Mr. Norton's inference in regard to the time of the composition. Bunsen, however, thinks that he is able to show, "from the book itself,"

* *Hist.*, iii. 38. † *Hist.*, iii. 3 and 25. ‡ *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 10.
§ *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i., Additional Notes, p. ccxlviii., etc.

that it was written in 139 or 140.* This, if it be so, does not conflict very materially with Mr. Norton's opinion. But whether we adopt the year 140 or 150 as the date, is of little importance so far as concerns our present inquiry. We may safely refer its origin to about the middle of the second century, or a little earlier.† It was written in Greek, but the original was long supposed to be lost, with the exception of a few fragments preserved in quotations; and until lately we have possessed it only in an ancient Latin translation. [The Greek text was first published at Leipsic in 1856, or rather in December, 1855, by Rudolph Anger, with a preface by William Dindorf, and more accurately by Tischendorf in Dressel's edition of the Apostolic Fathers, Leipsic, 1857. These editions were founded on a manuscript of Hermas discovered by the notorious Constantine Simonides at Mount Athos, three leaves of which, with a copy of the rest, he sold to the University of Leipsic. The defects of that manuscript, which is of the fifteenth century, and presents a very corrupt text, have been partially supplied by Tischendorf's great discovery of the "Codex Sinaiticus," which he assigns to the middle of the fourth century.] This manuscript was found in the monastery of St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, in 1859, and contains the greater part of the Old Testament (in Greek), and the whole of the New, together with the Epistle of Barnabas, and about one fourth of the Shepherd of Hermas, in the original Greek.‡ The

* *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 184. See the Muratorian Fragment itself, in Bunsen's *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, i. 187.

† Neander (*Hist.*, i. 660) mentions the hypothesis which ascribes its origin to about the year 156, and thinks that there are some objections to the supposition of so late a date; but how much earlier he would place it, he does not say. He attributes but little weight to the Muratorian document.

‡ [The Codex Sinaiticus was published in the latter part of the year 1862, in four folio volumes, magnificently printed in fac-simile type, at the expense of the Russian government. The edition consisted of three hundred copies, of which only one hundred were placed on sale, for the benefit of the editor, the remainder being distributed as presents by the Emperor of Russia. A cheap edition, however, in ordinary type, of the portion containing the New Testament, with the Epistle of Barnabas, and fragments of Hermas, was published by Tischendorf at Leipsic in 1863, in one volume, quarto. The same year the unsold copies of Dressel's edition of the *Patres Apostolici* were issued, with a Supplement, also sold separately, containing a complete collation of the Epistle of Barnabas and the portion of Hermas found in the Sinaitic manu-

two latter books, when the manuscript was written, appear to have been classed, in some churches, with the canonical writings of the New Testament; though as to the production of Hermas, Niebuhr, as Bunsen tells us, used to say that he "pitied the Athenian Christians for being obliged to hear it read in their assemblies."

The work consists of three books, — Visions, Commands, and Similitudes, the two latter being communicated to the writer, as he says, by an angel in the guise of a shepherd; hence the title of the work. It is a wild book. The writer seems to have been, in some sense, an imitator of St. John in the Revelation, at least to have read the Apocalypse; and in his visions and similitudes he gives great license to his imagination. Mr. Norton's comparison of the work to Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" is suggestive and forcible.

In a writing of such a character we can hardly expect to find much which admits of quotation, relating to the doctrines of a speculative theology. It has a great deal to say of God, and "living to God," of allegorical personages and angels, and little, in comparison, of Jesus Christ. God appears in it, and God only, as the Supreme and Infinite One, the sole independent creator and governor of the universe, who alone is eternal. The first Command begins: "First of all believe that there is one God, who created and formed all things out of nothing. He comprehends all, and is alone immense; who can neither be defined by words, nor conceived by the mind."

Similar phraseology ascribing the act of creation directly to God repeatedly occurs. Thus, "God, who dwelleth in heaven, hath made all things out of nothing"; * — "who by his invisible power and his excellent wisdom made the world"; † — who "ruleth over all things and hath power over all his creatures." ‡ Thus he is supreme, sole maker and governor

script, with the Greek text previously published. Besides the common Latin text of the Shepherd of Hermas, Dressel's edition of the Apostolic Fathers contains another ancient Latin version, discovered by him in the Codex Palatinus 150, of the fourteenth century. The readings of this version he describes as often better than those of the common text, and in doubtful cases almost always preferable. In 1860 an ancient Æthiopic version of Hermas was published at Leipsic, with a Latin translation, by A. d'Abbadie. This also affords some assistance in settling the text. — Ed.]

* *Vis.* i. c. 1. † Ib. c. 8. ‡ *Sim.* ix. c. 23.

of the universe. True, in the Similitude just quoted, the writer, referring to the name of the Son of God, says the "whole world is supported by it." * This, if it do not point to the new spiritual creation under Christ its head, seems to conflict with what is elsewhere asserted, that God created and governs all things by a direct act of his power. Possibly the writer may have believed, according to the doctrine about that time beginning to develop itself, that the Father made use of the Son as his instrument in creating and ruling the world, though the prevailing form of expression throughout the work implies the contrary. Martini ascribes this belief to him.†

Throughout the work, however, the highest titles and epithets are applied to God, never to the Son, who is subject, and receives all from the Father. Thus in the fifth Similitude: "Having blotted out the sins of his people, he showed to them the paths of life, giving them the law which he had received of the Father. . . . . He is Lord of his people, having received all power from his Father." ‡

By the "first created Spirit," in the following passage, eminent critics, Martini and Bunsen among the number, suppose is meant Christ. This seems to us incontestable. The passage, according to the text adopted by Martini, reads thus: "That Holy Spirit, which was created first of all, God placed in a body in which it should dwell, in a chosen body, as it pleased him." § Bunsen varies the punctuation somewhat in the latter part of the passage, giving what he calls a "reconstituted text," which, however, does not affect what is said of the Spirit as "created ‖ first of all," the reading which he

* *Sim.* ix. c. 14.

† *Versuch*, etc., pp. 27, 28.

‡ *Sim.* v. c. 6.

§ *Sim.* v. c. 6.

‖ "Created" (creatus). There is here a difference of reading. In the text of some editions we have *infusus* instead of *creatus*. *Creatus*, we conceive, has the best manuscript authorities in its favor. Martini says, that the old manuscript authorities have *creatus*, and that *infusus* is a later interpolation. Bunsen adopts *creatus* on the authority of the Dresden and other manuscripts. The Lambeth, Carmelite, and Vatican have *creatus;* and thus from a collection of manuscripts and editions Grabe corrects the text. [This is also the reading of the independent Latin version contained in the Codex Palatinus; and Dressel, in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers, adopts it as genuine. The Greek text of the passage in the manuscript of Simonides is peculiar, and, when compared with the old Latin versions, leads one to suspect that the original has been altered on dogmatic grounds. It is as follows:

adopts, and which Archbishop Wake also follows. The "Son of God," says Bunsen, "is the Holy Spirit." He claims that his explanation is neither Athanasian nor Arian; certainly it is not Athanasian. It savors strongly of Arianism, however, as it makes Christ a created being, and possibly this work, ascribed to Hermas, may have been one of the ancient writings referred to by the Arians, when they asserted that their doctrine was that of the old Christians. The early Fathers, it is to be observed, frequently confounded the Son with the Spirit.

The following passage, which affirms the preëxistence of the Son, but not his eternity, the Arians might have used without scruple. "This rock and this gate are the Son of God. I replied, Sir, how can that be? seeing the rock is old, but the gate new. . . . . He answered, The Son of God is indeed more ancient than any creature, so that he was in counsel with his Father at the creation of all things. But the gate is therefore new because he appeared in the last days, even the fulness of time." * The preëxistence of the Son, which is not distinctly asserted in Clement's Epistle, no doubt an earlier writing, here clearly enough appears.

The Ignatian Letters.

We pass over the Epistles ascribed to Ignatius with slight notice, regarding them as of too uncertain authorship, and too hopelessly corrupt, to justify the use of them in connection with our present inquiry.† As to the bearing of the Epistles in

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ προόν, τὸ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, κατῴκισεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς σάρκα ἣν ἠβούλετο, "the preëxisting holy spirit which created the whole creation God caused to dwell in a body which he chose." The Æthiopic version, which gives a very free rendering of the whole chapter, reads, "The holy spirit which created all things dwelt in a body which he chose." The fragment of Hermas contained in the Codex Sinaiticus does not include this passage. — Ed.] See Notes to the Amsterdam and recent Paris editions; also Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. i. pp. 211, 212 (Hippolytus); Martini, *Versuch*, etc., p. 28. Archbishop Wake seems to have followed the Lambeth manuscript.

* *Sim.* ix. c. 12.

† We shall not attempt to argue the question of the genuineness of the Ignatian Letters, but shall content ourselves with a few observations and references. What is called the "testimony of antiquity" in their favor is too meagre, too loose, and not sufficiently early, and one of the pieces referred

the recently discovered Syriac version on the question of the belief of the old Christians on the subject of the Trinity, we

to of too suspicious a character to prove anything against the internal evidence of the Letters themselves. The passage quoted in this connection from Polycarp cannot be reconciled with other parts of his Epistle, and there can be little doubt is an interpolation. As to the "general consent of the learned," it may well surprise one to hear it appealed to at the present day in favor of either of the old recensions, though the shorter has found more advocates than the longer. They, however, if such there be among living men, who imagine that Pearson's *Vindiciæ*, etc., preceded by the labors of Usher and Vossius, and intended as an answer to Daillé, set the question of the genuineness of this recension "at rest forever," cannot have given attention to the record of theological literature in Germany from the time of Larroque's "Reply" in 1674 to the publication of the recently discovered Syriac version, as is clearly enough shown by Cureton in his *Vindiciæ*, etc., (pp. 15–19, and Appendix,) London, 1846; and in his *Corpus Ignatianum*, (Preface and Introduction;) London, 1849. Cureton thinks that "many of the arguments which he (Pearson) advances, to say the least, very much weaken, if they do not nullify, one another"; to which remark he appends the following note: "In the whole course of my inquiry respecting the Ignatian Epistles I have never met with one person who professes to have read Bishop Pearson's celebrated book; but I was informed, by one of the most learned and eminent of the present Bench of Bishops, that Porson, after having perused the *Vindiciæ*, had expressed to him the opinion that it was a very unsatisfactory work." (*Corpus Ignatianum*, Preface, p. xiv.)

The publication of Cureton's Syriac manuscripts, in 1845, introduced a new element of uncertainty into the controversy. Cureton claims that his Syriac version, which is much shorter than the shortest of the old Greek recensions (the English translation of the whole three Letters being comprised within five pages of his *Corpus Ignatianum*), represents the authentic text of all the genuine Epistles we possess of the old Martyr. Some learned men of Germany, among whom Bunsen was conspicuous, sustained Cureton's view; others, and among the rest Hilgenfeld, Hefele, and Baur, took decided ground against it. The opinion of English critics, too, was much divided. The result of all is, that the arguments of those who would be glad to believe that we possess some relic of the venerable martyr of Antioch, entitled to be pronounced genuine, and who look for it in either of the old recensions, have been weakened rather than strengthened within the last few years, and we are further than ever from being able to appeal to the "general consent of the learned" in favor of any genuine text or version of these celebrated Letters.

For some account of the opinions and controversy respecting the Epistles in question, see Cureton's volumes already referred to in this note; also the copious references given by Hagenbach (*Text-Book of the History of Doctrines*, vol. i. pp. 65, 66, New York, 1861). These references relate more particularly, but not exclusively, to the questions raised by the publication of the Syriac text of Cureton. We now hear little of the Syriac version; and we will add only that the discussion which grew out of its discovery and publication has not shaken our confidence in the conclusion, that the time for quoting the Ignatian Letters, in one or another form, as genuine, in support of any point either of history or doctrine, has gone by.

may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that what Martini asserts of the shorter recension of the seven Epistles, — which critics generally have preferred to the longer, as entitled to be pronounced genuine if the claim could be established in favor of either, — that the divinity of the Son cannot be found in it, at least, in such form as would satisfy "Nicene-Athanasian orthodoxy," is equally true of the recently produced Syriac text.* The most material difference we notice is, that while the Syriac text of the Epistle to the Romans closes with "Jesus Christ our God," the Greek and old Latin recensions both have simply "Jesus Christ," — "our God" being added in the Syriac version. This has a suspicious look. But even this will not satisfy Athanasian orthodoxy. No one doubts that Christ was called God before the time of the Council of Nice, but not God in the highest sense.

Epistle of Polycarp.

We now come to the Epistle of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, to the Philippians. Irenæus tells us that he, in his youth, knew Polycarp well, that he was acquainted with his manner of life, his person, and discourses.† Polycarp, he says, was a disciple of the Apostles, and conversed with those who had seen the Lord. Jerome makes him a disciple particularly of John;‡ and Irenæus says, that he was in the habit of relating to him conversations he had with that venerable man. According to Jerome he was ordained by John. The time of his birth and death cannot be ascertained, though it is certain that he lived to a very great age, and that he ended his days by martyrdom. The learned differ as to the date of this event, some placing it as early as 147, others, among whom is Bunsen,§ as late as 169. His death, if the relation given in the Letter of the church of Smyrna to the other churches on the subject of his martyrdom is to be relied upon, was in the last degree noble and affecting, though portions of the narrative certainly have the air of fable. The genuineness, in the main, of the Epistle to the Philippians ascribed to him, though called

* *Versuch*, etc., p. 28.
† Euseb. *Hist.*, iv. 14, and v. 20.
‡ *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 17.
§ *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 224.

in question by some among the older, as well as more recent critics, and denied by those of the Tübingen school, who make Polycarp a "mythical personage," there is no sufficient reason, perhaps, for doubting. Mr. Norton receives it as a genuine relic of the martyr, with the exception of a passage near the end relating to the Ignatian Epistles, to which he, in common with other critics, takes exception, as bearing clear marks of interpolation or forgery.* It is supposed to have originally ended with the doxology in the twelfth chapter. The early part of the second century is assigned as the probable date of its composition.

The Epistle, which is mostly hortative, and retains the old simplicity of thought and expression, is brief, and will help us very little in our inquiry as to what Christians of that day believed concerning the origin and precise rank of the Son. Its testimony to the supremacy of the Father, and the subordination of the Son, however, is clear and decisive. Thus we are saved "by the will of God through Jesus Christ"; — "who died, and was raised again by God for us." † Again, the writer speaks of believing in "him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and *gave* him glory and a throne at his right hand; to whom all things in heaven and on earth are made subject, whom every living creature shall worship"; ‡ not, however, as supreme. The prevailing language of the Epistle teaches the contrary. So in the following quotation: "Now the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he himself, the everlasting high-priest, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth." § Here the Son is sufficiently distinguished from the Father. The high-priest makes an offering to God, but is not God himself.

Such passages, scattered over the short Epistle, show clearly enough that this old martyr had no conception of Jesus Christ as equal with God, or as one with him except in will and pur-

* *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i., Additional Notes, p. ccxliv., etc.

† Cap. 1, 9.

‡ Cap. 2. [ᾧ πᾶσα πνοὴ λατρεύσει (so two MSS.; common reading λατρεύει), "to whom every living creature will pay religious service." Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 27; Phil. ii. 9–11; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Rev. v. 18. — Ed.]

§ Cap. 12.

pose. Here are no metaphysics, no confusion or obscurity, no hair-splitting distinctions. The Father is separated from the Son by a broad and distinct line, one as supreme, the other as subordinate; one as giving, the other as receiving; the Father *granting* to the Son a "throne at his right hand."

Epistle of Barnabas.

This has been ascribed to Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul. But the best modern critics generally agree in asserting that he was not the author. Mr. Norton, who has no hesitation in saying that it was not written by Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, thinks that it dates from about the middle of the second century, not far from the time when Justin Martyr wrote his Dialogue with Trypho.* It was not, as he argues from internal evidence, written by a Jew, or a Jewish Christian. Bunsen says that it was written by a Gentile, and that it is an "Alexandrian production." † He attributes to it a "high antiquity"; he thinks that it was written soon after the fall of Jerusalem, that it is as old as the Epistle of Clement, and consequently was anterior by about fifteen years to the Gospel of John. But it is difficult to answer Mr. Norton's arguments, referring it to a later period, which, as he observes, would preclude it from occupying a place with "writings of Apostolical Fathers."

Neander says, "we cannot possibly recognize in this production the Barnabas who was deemed worthy to take part as a companion in the apostolical labors of Paul." But unlike Mr. Norton and Bunsen, he ascribes it to a "Jew of the Alexandrian school, who had embraced Christianity." In support of this opinion he assigns several reasons. He allows Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, no part in the composition. "The Epistle," he says, "is all of *a piece*, and cannot possibly be separated into two parts, of which Barnabas was the author of one, and somebody else of the other." ‡

* *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i., Additional Notes, p. ccl., etc.

† *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 53–57.

‡ *Hist. of the Christian Religion*, etc., i. 657, 658.

Until the recent discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript by Tischendorf, published in 1863, we possessed the Epistle only in a corrupt and mutilated form. Its value, in any view we may take of it, is not great. Portions of it are weak, puerile, and extravagant; and the author betrays a fondness for allegory, far-fetched conceits, and forced and mystical interpretations, conformable to the Alexandrian taste.

But what does it teach of the Saviour? It undoubtedly recognizes his preëxistence. He is called the "Lord of the whole earth, to whom God said before the constitution of the world, 'Let us make man,'" etc.* As God's instrument in the creation it might be said that the sun was the "work of his hands."† Throughout the Epistle, however, the supremacy of the Father is maintained. This it is impossible to deny. The author refers to Psalm cx. 1 and Isaiah xlv. 1, to prove that both David and Isaiah call Jesus "Lord, and the Son of God." But in both these texts Jesus, if referred to at all, is clearly distinguished from the supreme God, with whom the writer of the Epistle has evidently no intention of confounding him, or making him a co-equal. Nor in speaking of Jesus as the Son of God does he make any allusion to the metaphysical doctrine of the Logos, so prominent in the writings of Justin Martyr and the Platonizing Fathers after his day.

The meaning of the words, "In him and to him are all things,"‡ is sufficiently explained by the connection in which they stand. All things in the old dispensation, as the writer believed and argued, had reference to Christ. "In him and to him" were all. The brazen serpent, as he says, and much else, pointed to him. All types and figures had their fulfilment in him, who in the fulness of time was to come. So reasoned a certain class of writers, to which the author of this Epistle belonged, adopting in full extent the allegorical and mystical mode of interpretation, indulging their fancy rather than consulting their reason. §

The personality of the Spirit does not appear in the Epistle, but only such expressions as these: "The Spirit of God prophesieth, saying," etc.; "The Holy Spirit put it into the

* Cap. 5. † Ibid. ‡ Cap. 12.

§ See Souverain, *Le Platonisme devoilé*, p. 170.

heart of Moses," — phraseology which it needs no argument at this time of day to prove does not imply personality.

Thus of the mass of writings ascribed to the Apostolic Fathers we find two only — the first Epistle of Clement and the very brief one of Polycarp — whose claims to be considered as wholly or in part genuine can be admitted. Even the genuineness of these has been contested by critics of note, and we possess neither of them in its entireness and purity. Two of the others may be considered as dating from about the middle of the second century, and are not therefore to be numbered among the writings of Apostolic Fathers. Of the rest the date and authorship cannot be determined, though they want evidence of a very early Christian antiquity.*

One word in regard to the Logos-doctrine, as developed by Justin Martyr and the learned writers of a subsequent age.

* The reader who has accompanied us in the foregoing examination of the writings ascribed to the Apostolic Fathers, so involved in obscurity and doubt, will be prepared to appreciate the beauty and force of the following extract from the Introduction to Dr. Stanley's *History of the Eastern Church*. In passing from Christianity as we see it in the New Testament to the Christianity of the Fathers, we witness a great change.

"No other change equally momentous," says Dr. Stanley, "has ever since affected its fortunes, yet none has ever been so silent and secret. The stream, in that most critical moment of its passage from the everlasting hills to the plain below, is lost to our view at the very point where we are most anxious to watch it; we may hear its struggles under the overarching rocks; we may catch its spray on the boughs that overlap its course; but the torrent itself we see not, or see only by imperfect glimpses. It is not so much a period for ecclesiastical history as for ecclesiastical controversy and conjecture. A fragment here, an allegory there; romances of unknown authorship; a handful of letters of which the genuineness of every portion is contested inch by inch; the summary examination of a Roman magistrate; the pleadings of two or three Christian apologists; customs and opinions in the very act of change; last, but not least, the faded paintings, the broken sculptures, the rude epitaphs in the darkness of the catacombs, — these are the scanty, though attractive, materials out of which the likeness of the early Church must be reproduced, as it was working its way, in the literal sense of the word, 'under ground,' under camp and palace, under senate and forum, — 'as unknown, yet well known; as dying, and behold it lives.' This chasm once cleared, we find ourselves approaching the point where the story of the Church once more becomes history." — pp. xxxvi., xxxvii.

That it does not appear in the writings ascribed to any of the so-called Apostolic Fathers of whom we possess any literary remains, may be regarded as an established fact; and a most significant one it is. The absence of all traces of the doctrine in these writings can be explained only on the supposition that the authors "did not," in the words of Souverain, "find it in the Christian religion, nor in the Jewish, and not having studied in the school of Plato, they could not import it from that school into the church of Christ." * Hagenbach concedes that the authors of these writings "do not make any use of the peculiar doctrine of the Logos." † Semisch, after observing that the most ancient Fathers of the Church, in their speculative inquiries relating to the person of Christ, took their direction from Philo, whose doctrine of the Logos was their "starting-point," adds: "We except, however, the so-called Apostolic Fathers. Every such application of the idea of the Logos was foreign to their minds." ‡ A most important exception truly, as bearing on the argument of the present volume.

* *Le Platonisme devoilé*, p. 176.
† *Text-book*, etc., First Period, § 42.
‡ *Justin Martyr*, ii. 177, 178, Ryland's translation.

JUSTIN MARTYR, AND HIS OPINIONS.

CHAPTER I.

CLAIMS OF JUSTIN ON OUR NOTICE. — BIRTH, AND EARLY STUDIES. — DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS TEACHERS. — HIS DESPONDENCY. — HIS RECEPTION OF PLATONISM. — HIS CONVERSION. — HIS DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO. — WRITES HIS FIRST APOLOGY. — HIS SECOND. — HIS LAST DAYS, AND MARTYRDOM.

AMONG the great writers and teachers of the ancient church, Justin, called the Philosopher and Martyr, claims our first notice; not as the brightest and most transcendent of the group, yet as a learned man and a sincere Christian, and the first of the disciples of the cross, of whom, after the days of the Apostles, we possess any remains the genuineness of which has not been brought into question. It is true, we have a mass of writings ascribed to an earlier period. But, with slight exceptions, their date and authorship, as we have seen, are involved in uncertainty. Many of them are palpable forgeries; and others have come down to us in so corrupt a state, or are so disfigured by interpolations, that, for any purpose of history or doctrine, their value as authorities is nearly worthless.

Of the writings just referred to, ascribed to the so-called "Apostolic Fathers," we have treated at sufficient length in our Preliminary Chapter. Next follow the Apologists, two of whom preceded Justin. These are Quadratus, and Aristides of Athens, both of whom presented "Apologies for Christianity," addressed to the Emperor Hadrian, the immediate predecessor of the first Antonine. Of these two Apologies nothing is preserved except a few lines from Quadratus, quoted by Eusebius the historian.* In this fragment he speaks of some

* *Hist.*, iv. 3.

who were healed and some who were raised from the dead by Christ as having lived to his own times. We know not the date of Quadratus's birth. His Apology is said to have been offered in the tenth year of Hadrian's reign, — the year 126 of our era. His recollection, however, might have extended back some distance into the first century. He is reported to have been a hearer of the Apostles, and certainly might have been of John.

This, as we have seen, is an obscure period of Christian history. With Justin Martyr, we emerge from a region of darkness, and find, at least, some straggling rays of light. His writings possess peculiar interest from the age to which they belong, and the circumstances which gave them birth. They carry us back to the former part of the second century, — a period not very remote from the death of the last of the little band who saw and conversed with Jesus, and were commissioned to teach in his name. As a record of facts, they furnish useful, though not very ample, materials of history. They have excited attention, too, if they do not derive importance, from the rank and early studies of their author. He is the first to make us acquainted with Grecian culture in its connection with Christian thought. Jerome speaks of him as imitating the earlier apologist, Aristides; but how much is meant by the assertion, it is impossible to say. Aristides is called by Jerome a "most eloquent" man: but what his philosophical opinions were, we are not informed; nor is it known how far he may have been chargeable with having taken the initiatory step in destroying the simplicity of the Christian doctrine, which disappeared amid the decided Platonism of Justin and his successors, especially the great teachers of the Alexandrian School. That the writings emanating from this school, along with those of Justin, who led the way, introduced darkness and error into the theology of the period — error which was transmitted to subsequent times, and from the overshadowing effects of which the Christian world has not yet fully recovered — admits, in our opinion, of no denial.

There was that, however, in the character of Justin, which commands our admiration. He was, in many respects, a light and ornament of his age. He labored with zeal, if not with

discretion, in the cause of his Master; and, having obtained the honors of martyrdom, left a name which the gratitude of Christians has delighted to cherish.

Materials are wanting for an extended biographical notice of Justin. The little we know of him is culled chiefly from his own writings. They have preserved a few incidents of his life; and tradition has added a little, though but little, to the stock. From himself we learn that he was a native of Palestine, and was born at Flavia Neapolis, the ancient Shechem,—called Sychar in the New Testament, now Nablus,—a city of Samaria, and, as Josephus informs us, the metropolis of that country at the time Alexander entered Judæa. Here, probably, his ancestors had for some time resided, since he calls the Samaritans his nation and race; though we are authorized to infer, from his own expressions, that he was of Pagan extraction; and his education was certainly Heathen. Of his father and grandfather he has told us only the names. That of the former was Priscus; and that of the latter, Bacchius.

The precise time of Justin's birth cannot be ascertained with certainty: but it must have very nearly coincided with that of the death of St. John the evangelist; being late in the first century, or very early in the second (probably about the year 103); though there have not been wanting those who have carried it as far back into the first century as the year 89. Of this number are Fabricius, Grabe, and others; whom Otto, Justin's latest editor, seems inclined to follow. To this early date, however, there are serious historical objections.

Justin must, as it would appear, have been born and bred in easy circumstances. He possessed a liberal curiosity and an ardent thirst for knowledge, and early devoted himself to philosophical studies. He had conceived a high opinion of the objects and uses of philosophy, as the term was then understood. It was, in his view, the only treasure worth the attainment; comprehending, as he believed, a knowledge of all that pertained to God and to human felicity.* This had been sought by him, as he informs us, in the schools of Zeno, Aris-

* *Dial. cum Tryph.*, p. 102, ed. Par., 1742; to which all our references are made, unless Thirlby's or Otto's is specified.

totle, and Pythagoras, but in vain. He first, he tells us in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, put himself under the tuition of a certain Stoic. With him he remained long enough to discover that he could impart little knowledge of God; for he possessed little, and did not esteem such knowledge of any great worth. Justin then left him, and betook himself to one of the Peripatetic School, who passed with himself, says he, for a very astute philosopher. But, demanding a stipulated fee for teaching, Justin leaves him in disgust, thinking that very unphilosophical. Still burning with a desire of knowledge, he next selects for his teacher a conceited Pythagorean. This man demanded of those who proposed to become his pupils a previous knowledge of music, astronomy, and geometry, as tending to refine and elevate the conceptions, and thus assist the mind to comprehend abstract mental truths, and rise at last to the contemplation of the sole good and fair. Of this preparatory information Justin professed himself destitute; and was therefore compelled to leave him, much to his regret: for this man, he says, really "appeared to know something."

Disappointed, humbled, and chagrined, Justin now seems for a time to have resigned himself to grief and melancholy, ignorant whither next to turn. The lofty pretensions of the Platonists at length awoke him from his dream of suspense. This sect was then in great repute, as teaching transcendent truths relating to God and the universe; upon which subjects its founder had discoursed with a copiousness and eloquence which charmed the imagination, though his obscurity and mysticism might occasionally baffle the understandings, of his hearers. To one of these, who had recently taken up his abode at Neapolis (where, it seems, Justin continued to reside), he joins himself; and his fondest hopes appear now about to be realized. His attention is directed to subjects congenial with his tastes and feelings. Plato's incorporeal essences delighted him. The contemplation of ideas or intelligible forms, the patterns and archetypes of things visible, added wings to his imagination. He thought himself already wise; and, in his folly, flattered himself that he should soon obtain a vision of God: for this, he adds, "is the end of Plato's philosophy." *

* *Dial. cum Tryph.*, pp. 102–104; Otto, cc. 1, 2.

Justin was ardent, imaginative, and strongly inclined to mysticism; and hence the most extravagant dreams of the Platonists found a ready reception with him; and his mind soon acquired a taint from this source, which was never removed. He retained, after his conversion, his former partiality for the doctrine of *ideas*, as taught in the Platonic schools, which he considered too difficult and sublime a doctrine to have originated in the subtilest human genius; and he therefore concluded that Plato must have stolen "so great a mystery" from Moses, who speaks of an exemplar, type, and figure (preëxistent forms) shown him on the mount.

Full of enthusiasm, and impatient of interruption, he now resolves to fly from the society of men, and bury himself in the depths of solitude, — there to deliver himself up to his favorite contemplations, by which he was to rise to a vision of the Divinity. For this purpose, he selects a retired spot near the sea. As he approached this spot, he observed, he tells us, an aged man, of a venerable aspect, grave, but with a look of meekness, following him at a little distance; and, turning, he entered into conversation with him. The conference was a long one; and the old man, adopting somewhat of the Socratic method, appears often to have perplexed his youthful antagonist. He exposed the absurd pretensions of the philosophers; pointed out the futility of their speculations; and concluded by directing his attention to the Hebrew prophets, who were older than the philosophers, and who alone, he affirmed, saw and taught the truth, and, speaking by divine inspiration, unfolded visions of the future. But "pray," says he, "that the gates of light may be opened to thee; for none can perceive and comprehend these things, except God and his Christ grant them understanding." Saying this, the old man departed, and was seen nó more.*

Justin is impressed. He had previously witnessed the constancy of the martyrs; he had observed the tranquillity and fortitude with which they encountered death, and all other evils which appear terrible to man; and he justly inferred, that they could not be profligate who could so patiently endure.† He had long believed them innocent of the crimes imputed

* *Dial. cum Tryph.*, cc. 8–8, Otto. † *Apol.* II. c. 12, p. 96.

to them. He was now prepared to think that they held the truth. He reflected on the words of the venerable stranger, and was convinced that they inculcated the "only safe and useful philosophy." *

Such is his own account † of the manner in which he became a Christian, or, as he expresses it, a philosopher; for he was fond of retaining the name, as he also continued to wear the dress, of a Grecian sage. Eusebius ‡ informs us that he preached Christianity in the philosophers' garb, — a sort of coarse or cheap mantle, usually of a dark color, similar to that

* *Dial.*, p. 108; Otto, c. 8.

† This account, as we have said, is given in his Dialogue with Trypho; and may therefore be received, we suppose, as a genuine history of his conversion, even if the dialogue be a fictitious composition, after the manner of Plato's Dialogues. This species of writing, in which imaginary personages are introduced as engaged in real discourse or argument, appears to have been a favorite one with the ancients. Plato had adopted it with success, and the charms of his dialogues were universally felt and acknowledged; and Cicero and others employed it after him. It is not improbable that Justin, who, as we know, was a warm admirer of Plato, might have been influenced by his example to attempt a style of composition which possessed so many attractions. That this was actually the case, we think the pervading tone, in fact the whole air and costume, of the dialogue, if we may be allowed so to express ourselves, afford abundant evidence. We can never persuade ourselves that Justin's meek and supple Jew was a real personage. He is too patient of abuse, and concedes too much to his antagonist. Nor, had he been a learned Jew, as is supposed, — whether Rabbi Tarphon, as some will have it, or any other Rabbi, — would he have allowed Justin's gross blunders in Hebrew chronology, history, and criticism, to have passed without censure. That he might have held a dispute or disputes with the Jews, is highly probable; for he was not accustomed to shrink from a trial of his strength in debate: and that the substance of one or more of these interviews may have been retained in the dialogue, or, at least, have furnished hints of which he made some use, is quite as probable. From these and other materials suggested by conversation and reading, the piece was no doubt made up; but the style and dress, the rhetorical embellishment, the whole form and structure, are Justin's. It is no more a real dialogue, we are persuaded, than similar compositions of Cicero or of Bishop Berkeley. He borrowed, unquestionably, like the authors of fictitious writings generally, from real life, but worked up his rough materials according to his own fancy and judgment; and, as he was not deficient in a very complacent opinion of his own abilities, his imaginary antagonist is made to treat him with great respect, and yield him advantages in argument which a real Jew of ordinary shrewdness would not have given. But whether the dialogue be fictitious or not is of no importance; since, in either case, we must suppose it to furnish a true record of Justin's opinions, and of the process by which he became a Christian.

‡ *Hist.*, iv. 11.

afterwards worn by monks and hermits. It was this garb, as we learn from himself, which attracted the notice of Trypho the Jew, and led him to address him as a philosopher. "Hail, philosopher!" is his first salutation. "When I see a person in this garb, I gladly approach him, with the expectation," he adds, "of hearing something useful," — or perhaps in the hope of amusement; for he was surrounded by some jeering companions of his own faith.*

Of the date of his conversion, nothing can with certainty be affirmed. The year 132 or 133 of the common era, however, is usually assigned; probably with some near approach to truth. Of his history after his conversion, few notices occur in his own writings; and little on which we can rely is to be gathered from other sources. In a treatise which bears his name, though its genuineness has been strongly contested, we find incidental mention of him as having been in Campania and Egypt;† and Ephesus is the scene of his celebrated Dialogue with Trypho. It is not improbable that his zeal in the cause of Christianity may have led him to visit these and other places. His usual residence, however, as Eusebius informs us,‡ was at Rome. He was certainly much there; and if the piece called the "Acts of his Martyrdom" be entitled to any credit as an historical memoir, he dwelt at a place called Timothy's Baths, on the Viminal Mount, where he conversed freely with all who resorted to him, and, by discourse and writings, engaged, as occasion offered, in defence of Christianity, and fearlessly met and repelled the foul charges brought against its professors.

He is supposed to have written his first or larger Apology, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, to his adopted sons, Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, and Lucius Verus also called philosopher, and to the senate and people of Rome, about the year 138 or 139.§ It was occasioned by the suffering of the Christians under a severe persecution, instigated in this

* *Dial.*, cc. 1, 8, Otto. † *Cohort. ad Græcos*, cc. 13, 37, Otto.

‡ *Hist.*, iv. 11.

§ This date is adopted by Dodwell, Petau, Le Clerc, Basnage, Scaliger, Pagi, Möhler, Semisch, Neander, Otto, and others; though some prefer A. D. 140 as the period of its composition, and others of no small critical repute — as Tillemont, Grabe, Fleury, and Maran — name as late a date as 150.

instance, it seems, by the frenzy of the populace, who were accustomed at the public games, and whenever opportunity offered, to clamor for their blood, and urge the civil authorities to put in execution the imperial edicts then existing against them, but which the humanity of the magistrates appears sometimes to have allowed to sleep. This Apology is alluded to in the Dialogue with Trypho: which must, therefore, have been written at a subsequent period; Pearson thinks, in the year 146;* but this is conjecture. The second Apology appears to have been written at a still later period, and not long before his martyrdom.†

Justin was roused to offer this Apology by the sufferings of three persons who had been recently put to death by Urbicus, prefect of the city, for no crime, but only for acknowledging themselves the followers of Christ. This act of Urbicus he regarded only as a prelude to still further severities; and, with the exalted courage of a martyr, he stepped forward, and endeavored to avert the storm which seemed ready to burst on the heads of his fellow-Christians. The consequences of his zeal and activity he seems fully to have anticipated. His ability, the weight of his character, his powerful appeals and remonstrances, and his unsparing censure of the follies of Paganism, provoked the hostility of the enemies of the Christian name; and they now, more than ever, panted for the blood of so noble a victim. Near the beginning of his Apology, he expresses his belief that the fate of his companions would soon be his own. He had a determined, and, as the event proved, a powerful adversary in one Crescens, a Cynic philosopher, whom he describes as a person of infamous character, but fond of popularity, and willing to resort to any arts, however base,

* *Just.*, ed. Thirlb., p. 489.

† It was addressed, according to Eusebius (iv. 16), to Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, and his associate in the empire; though some modern critics — as Dodwell, Thirlby (*Just.*, ed. Thirlb., p. 110), and Pearson — have inferred, from internal evidence, that this as well as the former was offered to Antoninus Pius. So also Neander; the testimony of Eusebius, and, we may add, also of Jerome, notwithstanding. Semisch does not attempt to settle the date with precision, but places it between A. D. 161 and 166. Otto names 164. The theory that this originally constituted only the introduction to the larger Apology, and that the other Apology has been lost, has been proved, we think, by Otto and others, to be entitled to no respect.

for the purpose of obtaining it. The odium shared by the Christians, already virulent enough, appears to have been rendered still more deadly by his exertions. He went about to inflame the minds of the people against them; shamelessly reiterating the then stale charge of immorality and atheism, though, as Justin affirms, entirely ignorant of their principles. He appears, however, to have obtained the ear of the emperor; for his machinations succeeded, and Justin was sacrificed. He was apprehended; brought before Rusticus, prefect of the city; and, on his refusal to offer sacrifice, was condemned to die.

Of his death by martyrdom there can, we think, be no reasonable doubt. The little treatise, already mentioned, called the "Acts of the Martyrdom of Justin and Others," would furnish an affecting account of the concluding scene of his life, could its authenticity be established. But this is considered as more than questionable. The piece is one of acknowledged antiquity; but the date of its composition cannot be ascertained: nor have we any means of determining whether the Justin whose sufferings it recounts is the saint of whom we are speaking, or another individual of the same name. In these Acts, he is said to have been beheaded; and we can easily credit them, when they assert that he met death with the calmness and fortitude becoming a follower of the crucified Jesus. The precise year of his death is unknown.* There is a tradition in the Greek Church, that, like Socrates, he drank the hemlock; but this tradition has been considered as entitled to little respect.

Some writers of the Romish communion would persuade us that he was admitted to the order of priest or bishop in that church; but, in support of this hypothesis, they offer only

* Fabricius (*Biblioth. Græc.*, t. v. p. 52) and Grabe (*Spic. Patr.*, t. ii. pp. 146, 147) place it at A. D. 163, — or perhaps 165, says the latter; Tillemont (*Eccles. Mem.*, vol. ii. p. 145), at 167 or 168; others, at one of the intervening years 165 or 166. Dodwell has expressed an opinion that he was born A. D. 119, and suffered death A. D. 149, at thirty years of age (*Dissert. iii. in Irenæum*, § 19); but this opinion is not supported by any good authority. Epiphanius, indeed, says that Justin perished during the reign of Hadrian, at thirty years of age. But it is beyond question, as has been generally observed, either that Epiphanius was deceived, or that his text has been corrupted; it being quite certain that Justin survived Hadrian. Otto adopts the date of A. D. 165, in the consulship of Orphitus and Pudens.

vague conjectures. The ancients observe the most profound silence on the subject; nor do the Romanists of modern times venture to assign him any particular church or see. Neander calls him an "itinerant preacher, in the garb of a philosopher;" and Semisch, an "itinerant evangelist." The Romish Church observes his festival on the 13th of April; and the Greek, on the 1st of June; both having canonized him.

CHAPTER II.

JUSTIN'S WRITINGS. — EXTRAVAGANT PRAISE BESTOWED ON HIM. — REVERENCE FOR THE FATHERS DECLINES. — EXAMINATION OF JUSTIN'S LARGER APOLOGY. — HIS MODE OF ARGUMENT. — TOPICS AND TONE OF HIS ADDRESS. — PROPHECY AND MIRACLES. — TOPICS OF HIS SECOND APOLOGY. — DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO.

SEVERAL of the works of Justin are lost: among which, unfortunately, is his book "Against all Heresies," mentioned by himself; and one against Marcion, if both were not parts of the same work. His first Apology, placed second in the earlier editions of his works, has reached us nearly, if not quite, entire. The second is somewhat mutilated at the beginning, and, in other respects, appears imperfect. The genuineness of the Dialogue with Trypho has been questioned by a few; but, we think, for very insufficient reasons. The "Hortatory Address to the Greeks" has been rejected by several modern critics; * and Thirlby has not admitted it into his edition of the works of the saint. Of the several other treatises formerly published under his name, and included in the later editions of his works, with the exception of Thirlby's, none are now considered as entitled to a place among his genuine and acknowledged remains. Most of them are universally rejected as spurious; † and the two or three short pieces or

* Its genuineness was attacked by Casimir Oudin, a writer of some little note in his time, who died at Leyden in 1717. Others have doubted or rejected. Möhler (*Patrologie*, p. 224) is among the latter. Neander hesitates. Otto (*De Justini Martyris Scriptis et Doctrina*, p. 88, etc.) and Semisch (vol. i. pp. 118, etc.) argue the question, the latter at great length, and decide for its genuineness. Augusti, De Wette, Credner, Baumgarten-Crusius, and several others, are referred to as pronouncing the same judgment. So far as the authority of eminent critics goes, the evidence on this side now decidedly predominates; though much doubt remains, and ever will remain.

† These are the Epistle to Zenas and Serenus, the Exposition of the Right Faith, Questions and Responses to the Orthodox, Christian Questions to the Greeks, and Greek Questions to the Christians, and the Confutation of Certain Dogmas of Aristotle, all thrown into the Appendix in the Paris edition of 1742 as manifestly supposititious.

fragments, still sometimes referred to as his, are of too doubtful a character to authorize us to cite them as part of his genuine works.*

Justin has been the subject of much extravagant panegyric.

* Such are the Oration to the Greeks, the short fragment on the Monarchy of God, and the Epistle to Diognetus, — a work of undoubted antiquity, of which we shall speak hereafter. Semisch claims the fragment of a work on the Resurrection as Justin's; but there is not that historical and critical evidence in its favor which is necessary to procure its general reception. Few, we think, at the present day, will venture to quote from it as a work of Justin.

The first printed edition of the collected works of Justin, in Greek, is that of R. Stephens in 1551. This edition includes nearly the whole of what has been attributed to Justin, Stephens having published the spurious, along with the genuine, from a manuscript belonging to the Royal Library. The Address to the Greeks or Gentiles, and the Epistle to Diognetus, however, were not embraced in it, but were published by Henry Stephens in 1592 and 1595. An edition of the works of this Father was published by Sylburgius, at Heidelberg, in 1593. This edition was reprinted at Paris in 1615, and again in 1636. That bearing the latter date was highly esteemed, and is the edition generally intended when reference is made to *the* Paris edition by several writers during the century subsequent to its publication.

Thirlby's edition of the two Apologies, and Dialogue with Trypho, was published in London in 1722. This edition is beautifully printed, and contains some valuable notes, generally brief, and not encumbered with useless learning. On points involving doctrinal controversy, however, Thirlby has studiously avoided entering into any discussion.

The last Paris edition is that of Prud. Maran, or Maranus, a Benedictine monk of the congregation of St. Maur, 1742. This edition includes all the treatises, as well spurious as genuine, which have been at different times published under the name of Justin. The volume contains likewise the remains of several other Greek writers of the second century; as Tatian, Justin's disciple, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Hermias. Maran gave a new Latin version of the two Apologies and the Dialogue. Of portions of the writings of Justin there have been more recent editions; but his entire works, for a hundred years from the time of Maran, found no new editor.

The first volume of Otto's edition appeared at Jena in 1842, — exactly a century after the date of the celebrated Paris edition of Maran. The remaining volumes subsequently appeared; and a second edition, in five volumes, was published in 1847–1850. This is an octavo edition, and embraces all the works which have passed under the name of Justin, genuine and spurious. It is very carefully edited, with a corrected text, critical annotations and comments, original and selected, and presents the writings of Justin in a more convenient form than any before possessed. No one who has access to this edition will hereafter use any other.

[This edition of Justin by Otto forms a part of his *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Sæculi Secundi*. Of this collection, three volumes have since appeared, containing the remains of Tatian (1851), Athenagoras (1857), and Theophilus (1861), all admirably edited. — Ed.]

Profound learning, penetration, wit, judgment, and eloquence (almost every quality which goes to make a great writer) have been ascribed to him by his too partial admirers. Antiquity is loud in his praise. Tatian, his disciple, calls him a "most wonderful" man; and Methodius, a writer of the third century, tells us that he was "not far removed from the Apostles either in time or virtue." Photius, too, though he admits that his style wants attractions for the vulgar, extols his solidity of matter, and vast and exuberant knowledge. Of the biographical notices of him, furnished by comparatively modern writers, — as Cave, Tillemont, and others, — most are composed less in the style of impartial history than of fond eulogium.

As a blind reverence for antiquity, however, yielded at length to a spirit of independent research and just criticism, the credit of the Fathers, and of Justin among the rest, rapidly sunk. Daillé in his "Treatise on the Use of the Fathers," Le Clerc in his various writings,* Barbeyrac,† and we might add a multitude of others, and, above all, the learned and accurate Brucker,‡ contributed their proportion to bring about this revolution in public opinion, and settle the question of their merit and defects. Far be it from us to justify every expression of contempt and sweeping censure, much less the tone of heartless levity and ridicule, in which modern writers have occasionally indulged in speaking of them. The subject is too grave for derision. The Fathers, with whatever imperfections and weaknesses they are chargeable as authors, are certainly entitled to our respect and sympathy as men and Christians. They performed an important office in society. They received and transmitted the religion of the humble and despised Jesus; transmitted it (disfigured and corrupted, to be sure, but still transmitted it) in the face, too, of torture and death. They helped to carry forward the triumphs of the cross. The fortitude in sufferings exhibited as well by the learned advocates for the truth of Christianity, whose position

* See his *Ars Critica*, also *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique, Choisie*, and *Ancienne et Moderne*; a rich storehouse of information, in eighty volumes, into which Gibbon, as he tells us, dipped with delight; and in which the curious will be ever sure to find entertainment.

† *Traité de la Morale des Pères.*

‡ *Historia Critica Philosophiæ.*

rendered them objects of special mark, as by the crowd of more obscure believers, was matter of admiration and astonishment to the Pagan world; and the church was nurtured by their blood.

Of such men we cannot speak with levity, or cold, illiberal sarcasm. But, though we venerate them as men who dared and suffered nobly, truth compels us to say, that, as writers, we cannot think them entitled to any profound respect. We think, with Jortin, that "it is better to defer too little than too much to their decisions." We do not except even Justin. His writings deserve the attention of the curious, as furnishing examples of the manner in which Christianity was defended, and the objections of Pagans and Jews met and refuted, in the primitive ages. They are valuable, too, in other respects. But, however they may be calculated to increase our reverence for the moral qualities, the sincerity, the zeal, the self-devotion and courage, of their author, they will not give us any very exalted opinion of his penetration, taste, or judgment. Whoever reads them with the expectation of finding in them specimens of just and well-sustained argument and eloquence, — whoever looks for discriminating remark, or a neat and graceful style, perspicuity, or method, — will rise from the perusal of them with a feeling of sad disappointment.

Let us take his first and larger Apology. It was not necessary that its author, in order to attain his object, should establish the truth of Christianity. Christianity might be true or false; its founder might have been divinely commissioned, or he might have been an impostor or enthusiast: yet the sufferings inflicted on Christians might be undeserved; the charges alleged against them might be false, and their punishment, therefore, an act of gross injustice and cruelty. Neither the public tranquillity nor the safety of the throne, neither justice nor policy, might require that the rising sect, infected by the "new superstition," as it was called, should be crushed. These were topics which the early apologists, one might think, would particularly urge, and urge with all their strength of reasoning and eloquence.

The popular charges against the Christians were those of profligacy and atheism. The latter arose from their neglect

of the gods, whose images filled every temple and grove, and the worship of whom was enjoined by the Roman laws. For this crime, for their alleged impiety and contempt of the gods, they were punished. Pliny, in his well-known letter to Trajan, expresses his concern that the contagion of the new opinions had not only infected cities, but spread through the remoter towns and villages; that, in consequence, the temples were deserted, the public rites of religion neglected, and the victims remained unsold. The old fabric of superstition seemed tottering, and ready to fall. But this fabric it was deemed matter of policy to support; and whatever tended to weaken and overthrow it, was, therefore, regarded with extreme jealousy and aversion. Hence the virulence manifested against the growing sect of Christians. They were the enemies of legalized superstitions; and were therefore viewed as in some sense disturbers of the public peace, and dangerous to the State. The calamities which afflicted the empire increased the hatred against them. Of these calamities they were accused of being the authors; and by their blood alone, it was urged by a superstitious populace, they could be averted, and the anger of Heaven appeased. If the Tiber overflowed its banks, or the Nile did not rise, or there was earthquake or famine or pestilence, the Christians must pay the penalty by their lives. "Away with the Atheists!" was the cry: "The Christians to the lions!" Such were the feelings and opinions, and such the mode of reasoning, which Justin found it necessary to combat: and several of the views and considerations he suggests have great weight; though, from his want of skill in argument, he fails of making the most of them.

He demands only, he says, that Christians be placed on a footing with other subjects of the empire; that the charges brought against them should be examined; and, if they were found guilty, he wishes not, he says, to screen them from punishment. But let them not be put to death without an opportunity of establishing their innocence; let them not be condemned simply for bearing the name of Christians. Names are indifferent: the things signified by them are alone of importance. If Christians are what they are represented to be (workers of all iniquity, not only holding opinions in the last

degree impious and detestable, but sanctioning every enormity by their practice), let it be proved against them. Show them to be malefactors, and we will not complain that they are punished as such. But, if their lives are blameless, it is manifest injustice to sacrifice them to popular frenzy and hatred.

Thus far, Justin proceeds on unquestionable ground. He asserts the great principles of justice and equity; he contends for liberty of opinion; he is a strenuous asserter of that liberty: and happy for the repose of Christendom, had Christians never lost sight of the sentiments in the present instance uttered by this early Father. They were worthy the noble cause he was advocating, and might with advantage have been further pressed; for this was Justin's stronghold. While urging these considerations, he was pleading the cause of common justice and humanity; and his sentiments must have found an echo in every breast which retained the least portion of sensibility or correct feeling. But he injudiciously breaks off a truly valuable train of thought, the moment he has entered upon it, to introduce some observations about demons, to whose active malice he attributes the odium under which Christians lay. As regards these evil demons, he says, we confess we may be denominated Atheists; for we reject their worship: but not as regards the true God and his Son sent by him, the host of good angels and the prophetic spirit; for these we reverence and adore. He then speaks of the objects of Heathen adoration, and the folly of honoring them with victims and garlands; and observes that God wants not material offerings. Christians, he continues, look not for an earthly kingdom; and, as their hopes are not fixed on present things, death by the hands of the executioner has no terrors for them: "You may slay, but you cannot hurt." They are good subjects, and promoters of virtue and peace; for they teach that all men, whatever their characters, are subject to God's inspection, and will be hereafter rewarded or punished as their actions merit. He then cautions those whom he was addressing against listening to calumnies which originated with deceptive demons. These demons were enemies of the Christians; since the latter, in embracing Christ, renounced their dominion, and became reformed in temper and life. To prove that he is not playing

the sophist in thus speaking, he says that he will quote a few precepts of Christ; and he proceeds to give copious extracts from the Sermon on the Mount, and other parts of the Saviour's teachings of a strictly practical character, not omitting the rendering "to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." He thus shows that Christianity inculcates purity of heart, charity, patience, forbids rash oaths, enjoins obedience to magistrates; that it teaches the doctrine of immortality, and retribution for the just and unjust acts of the present life.

As to what is said of Christ's birth, death, and ascension, it cannot, he thinks, sound strange to a heathen ear accustomed to the fabulous narratives of the poets; for similar things are related of the sons of Jove.

Such is the train of Justin's remarks, so far as they have any consecutiveness, through one third, and that by far the least exceptionable part, of his Apology. What remains consists of observations and theories on the subject of the incarnation; expositions of prophecies, generally extravagant and fanciful enough; accounts of the miraculous feats, the craft and malice, of demons, who appear perpetually to haunt his imagination, and whom he considers the authors of the Heathen mythology, and inspirers of the poets; the abetters of heresy, and instigators of all the calamities under which Christians were groaning. After adding a description of the sacred rites of Christians, — Baptism and the Supper, — and their worship, or mode of passing Sunday, he concludes with beseeching the clemency of the emperor, and calls his attention to a rescript of Hadrian in favor of the Christians, which he subjoins.

Such are the general topics introduced into the first Apology. It contains some truth, and some just views and representations; enough surely to show that the Christians were the victims of great injustice and cruelty, but nothing which bears any resemblance to regular and well-sustained argument. A large portion of the thoughts, or rather crude and incoherent conceptions and comments and strange conceits, obtruded upon the notice of the emperor, are such as could have no weight with him, and produce no effect but to inspire contempt for the author's understanding. He injures his cause by weak and

inconclusive arguments, and by the immense mass of irrelevant and trifling or absurd matter with which he encumbers the defence.

With regard to the tone of his address, we may observe, that it was anything but mild and conciliating. Justin seems to have possessed a harsh and overbearing temper, which he had not the prudence to keep under restraint when motives of interest and common decorum alike required it. On this subject, Thirlby, who was sufficiently indulgent in his judgment of the Fathers, expresses himself with much point and truth. After observing in substance, that, though not a writer of the first merit, he is lively and pungent, and though not suited to the fastidious taste of an effeminate age, yet, for the times in which he lived, he had no ordinary degree of learning and eloquence, he adds, "These excellences were shaded by two faults: he is beyond measure rash and careless, and wrote in a style angry, contentious, and vituperative; utterly wanting in respect for the emperor, and urbanity to others." * He is destitute of complaisance alike to the fugitive Jews, and to the Romans, the masters of the world. His language certainly cannot be referred to as illustrating the Christian precepts of gentleness and forbearance, meekness and charity.

We have said that it was not necessary that Justin, in order to show the injustice of the persecutions under which Christians suffered, should establish the absolute truth of Christianity in opposition to Heathenism. It was enough that he should prove that the followers of Jesus led innocent, pure, and useful lives; that they were the friends of peace, obedient to the laws, and in no way enemies to the State. Still it could hardly be that those who undertook the defence of their fellow-Christians should leave out of sight the reasons which operated in producing that change from Heathenism to Christianity which was the source of all their calamities and sufferings. They would be naturally led to speak of the follies of Pagan superstitions, and to urge the higher claims of Christianity. This they did successfully; for the superior excellence of Christianity was such as to appear on the slightest comparison of it with Heathen systems.

* Dedication prefixed to his edition of Justin.

But we must not look to the early Apologists for systematic and masterly defences of the divine origin of Christianity. In this particular, Justin is deficient. On the argument from prophecy he dwells at length, but not in such a manner as to satisfy a reader of the present day. Of the evidence from miracles he scarcely takes any notice. Perhaps the cause may be traced to the popular belief of the age. The efficacy of incantations and magic formed part of this belief, common alike to Christians and Pagans. Miracles were regarded as of no rare occurrence, and they were supposed to be wrought by magical arts. Christianity might, then, have the support of miracles; but this support would be regarded as of trifling importance by those who were believers in the reality of charms and sorcery. The miracle might be admitted; but the evidence derived from it could be invalidated by ascribing it to the effects of magic. That the early Fathers and Apologists really felt a difficulty of this kind, there can be no doubt. The Jews had set the example by attributing the miracles of our Saviour to a demoniacal agency. That the Heathens trod in their steps, by ascribing them to magical influences, we gather from a hint Justin himself has incidentally dropped; and Origen expressly affirms it as regards Celsus. Here, then, was a grand objection to the evidence from miracles, and one which the Fathers, who were themselves firm believers in the powers of magic and demoniacal influences, must have found it exceedingly difficult to remove. So Tertullian, referring to Matthew xxiv. 24, expresses distrust of the evidence of miracles when not accompanied with that of prophecy. This feeling seems to have very generally prevailed among the old Fathers.*

The topics of the second Apology — which, as we possess it, is brief — are similar to those of the first, and are treated with

* Origen clearly places the evidence from prophecy above that of miracles; and moral miracles, such, for example, as opening the eyes of the spiritually blind, he pronounces greater than physical. Nor was the testimony of the soul itself wholly discarded. Origen seems to prize as the highest of all, that faith which is founded on a conviction of the truth of the doctrine, that is, on the intuitions of the soul itself; and Tertullian (*Apol.*, c. 17) once speaks of the soul as "naturally Christian." See Hagenbach, *Text-Book*, etc., First Per., §§ 28 and 29.

no more judgment. It breathes a martyr-spirit, but contains the same blending of just thought with trifling remark and weak reasoning, which we have noticed as characteristic of the first; and its tone is not more conciliatory. The fierce denunciation of the religion of the empire, and the charge brought against the emperors, and urged in no measured language, that they were instruments in the hands of wicked demons, would serve only to irritate, and put the oppressed Christians on a worse rather than a better footing with the State. It was certainly impolitic.

The Dialogue with Trypho exhibits in still greater prominence Justin's defects of conception and style: his loose reasoning; his rambling, incoherent course of remark; his tautology; his false rhetoric, and utter contempt of all the laws of good writing. Our readers will readily pardon us, we think, for not attempting an analysis of the work.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL DEFECTS OF JUSTIN'S INTELLECTUAL AND LITERARY CHARACTER. — HIS LOVE OF THE MARVELLOUS. — HIS ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF DEMONS. — FEATS PERFORMED BY THEM. — HIS CHRONOLOGICAL ERRORS. — HIS CARELESSNESS IN QUOTATION. — AN ALLEGORIST. — SPECIMENS OF HIS FANCIFUL INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. — TYPES OF THE CROSS. — HIS LEARNING. — EMINENTLY UNCRITICAL.

THE general defects of Justin's intellectual and literary character appear from what has been already said. Our readers, however, may be pleased with some instances and specifications; and as they will illustrate his opinions, and the opinions and modes of thinking of Christians of his day, we will proceed to give them; simply remarking, before we enter on our task, that, if it appears incredible that a writer of the second century, well educated, taught in the schools of philosophy, a man of great repute in the Church, and an eminent apologist for Christianity, could so think and write, the character of the times must be taken into view. In him, as it has been said, "we perceive the influence of the spirit of the age. The excellences and defects of his times, and of Christian antiquity, are visibly blended in his person"; the defects in rather undue proportion, we think, so far as the intellect is concerned. Nor is it enough to say in explanation, as it has been said, that the better-educated converts "designedly divested their writings of all ornament and splendor of diction, from a mistaken regard to Christian truth." Possibly some did so; unfortunately, we think, if they did. Still it is true, as Irenæus confesses of himself, and Lactantius of others, that the early Christian writers were generally rude of speech: and their want of intellectual culture, and their errors of taste and reasoning, were obvious, — were real, and not affected. They wrote as well as they knew how. Let Justin have the benefit of all the indulgence to which he is entitled from the delinquencies of the times. With this observation, we proceed with our specimens.

Of Justin's inattention to dates we have a well-known and striking example in the account he gives of the origin of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament; in which, as it stands in his first Apology,* he makes Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, contemporary with Herod the Great, King of Judæa; thus committing a chronological error of about two hundred and fifty years. If the "Hortatory Address to the Greeks" be his, the story furnishes a remarkable instance of his credulity and love of the marvellous, as well as of his haste and negligence: for he there relates, that the seventy who were sent from Judæa, at the request of Ptolemy, to translate the Hebrew Scriptures, — of which he had previously obtained a copy, — were, by his command, shut up in as many separate cells on the island called Pharos, and prohibited all intercourse one with another till each should have finished a translation of the whole; and that their several translations were then found, upon comparison, to agree to a letter; which was regarded by the astonished king as evidence that they had received divine assistance. This, the writer adds, is no fable; for, on visiting Alexandria, he was shown the remains of the very cells in which the task was performed.† He received the story, he says, from the inhabitants of the place, who had the tradition from their fathers; and writers, — wise men, and men of repute, — Philo, Josephus, and many others, give the same account. Of the truth of the narrative he entertained no shadow of doubt, any more than of the story, that, during the forty years' sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness, not only did not the thongs on their sandals

* P. 62; Otto, c. 31. See also *Cohort.*, c. 13.

† Pp. 16, 17. The inspiration of the Septuagint version appears to have been the common belief of the Fathers before the time of Jerome; and this fact Le Clerc adduces as evidence of their ignorance of the Hebrew. "Si les Pères," he observes, "Grecs et les Latins, qui ont vêcu avant S. Jerôme, avoient entendu l'Hebreu, ils n'auroient jamais crû que les LXX. interpretes avoient été inspirez; puis qu'ils auroient trouvé mille fautes dans leur version, pour avoir suivi des exemplaires fautifs, ou n'avoir pas sû lire le leur, ou n'avoir pas bien entendu la langue Hebraïque, ou n'y avoir pas apporté assez d'attention, ou enfin pour avoir traduit licentieusement. Il est vrai que Philon et Joseph ont dit la même chose de l'inspiration des Septante; mais le premier ne savoit point d'Hebreu, et le second semble avoir ménagé, en cela, les Juifs Hellenistes." — *Biblioth. Anc. et Mod.*, tom. vi. p. 829.

become broken, or their shoes torn, or their garments grow old upon them, but the clothes of the younger Hebrews actually increased in size as they grew up! *

What he says of demons, in different parts of his writings, shows how easily he could be led, on occasion, to credit the wildest and most monstrous fictions. God, he very gravely tells us, having formed man, committed him, together with all sublunary things, to the care of angels, whose too susceptible natures caused them to trespass with the frail daughters of earth; † and hence sprang the race of demons. These demons did not long remain idle. They mixed in all human affairs, and soon obtained universal sway in the world. They deceived men by arts of magic, frightened them with apparitions, caused them to see visions and dream dreams, perpetrated crimes, and performed numerous feats and prodigies, which the fabulous poets of antiquity, in their ignorance, transferred to the gods. They presided over the splendid mythology of the Heathen, instituted sacrifices, and regaled themselves with the blood of victims, of which they began to be in want after they became subject to passions and lusts.‡ They were the authors of all heresies, fraud, and mischief. Their malice was chiefly directed against the Saviour; whose success, they well knew, would be attended with their overthrow: and therefore, long before his appearance on earth, they tasked their ingenuity to defeat the purpose of his mission. They invented tales about the gods of the nations, corresponding to the descriptions of him given by the Hebrew prophets; hoping so to fill the minds of men with "lying vanities," that the writings which predicted his advent might be brought into discredit, and all that related to him pass for fable. For example, when they heard the prophecy of Moses,§ Gen. xlix. 10, 11, — "The

* *Dial.*, c. 181, Otto.

† This notion, founded on a misconception of Gen. vi. 4, of which the Seventy had given a faulty translation, did not originate with Justin. Philo and Josephus had advanced the same before him; and succeeding Fathers, one after another, copied it without examination. "Cela fait voir," says Le Clerc, "qu'il ne faut pas tant vanter le consentement des Pères en matières de théologie." — *Bib. Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 336.

‡ *Apol.* I., p. 51; II., p. 92. Otto, c. 14 and c. 5.

§ The prophecy belongs, not to Moses, but to Jacob.

sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and he shall be the expectation of the nations, binding his foal to the vine, and washing his garment in the blood of the grape," — they got up, as a counterpart, the story of Bacchus, the son of Jupiter and inventor of the grape, and introduced wine into the celebration of his mysteries, and represented him as finally ascending into heaven. They were exceedingly sagacious, but, with all their astuteness, found some difficulty in interpreting parts of the above-mentioned prediction of Jacob. The prophet had not expressly said whether he who should come was to be the son of God, or the son of man; nor whether he was to make use of the foal spoken of while he remained on earth, or only during his ascent into heaven. To get over this difficulty, these crafty demons, in addition to the story of Bacchus, trumped up that of Bellerophon, who was a man born of men; and who, as they tell us, mounted on his Pegasus, ascended into heaven. The prediction of Isaiah relating to the virgin (vii. 14), they said, was fulfilled in Perseus; that in Ps. xix. 5, "strong as a giant to run a race," (which Justin seems to have applied to the Messiah,) in Hercules, who was a man of strength, and traversed the whole earth. Again: when they found it predicted that he should cure diseases and raise the dead, they appealed to the case of Æsculapius, who also recalled the dead to life, and was taken up into heaven.* Nor did they cease from their mischievous industry after the death of Christ. As, before this event, they had made use of the poets as agents in disseminating their delusions, so after it they raised up heretics, — Marcion on the banks of the Euxine, and the Samaritans Menander and Simon, — who seduced many by their magical miracles; and with the latter of whom the senate and the people of Rome, he tells us, became so infatuated during the reign of Claudius Cæsar, that they numbered him with the gods, and honored him with a statue, which he prays may be thrown down.† They "hover about the beds of the dying, on the watch to receive the departing soul." The spirits of just men, and prophets equally with others, he

* *Apol.* I., pp. 75, 76; Otto, c. 21 and c. 54. *Dial.*, c. 69.
† *Apol.* I., pp. 77, 78; Otto, c. 56.

assures us, fall under their power; of which we have an instance in the case of Samuel, whose soul was evoked by the witch of Endor. Hence, he continues, we pray, in the hour of death, that we may be preserved from the power of demons.*

All this, if we except the last-mentioned opinion and the story of the garments that grew, occurs, with much more of the same stamp, in the two Apologies, and furnishes a fair specimen of Justin's participation in the errors of the times.

We pass over his belief of the Jewish "dream of the Millennium," which he took from Papias, a very weak man, and the "Father of Traditions," as he has been called; and his strange proof-texts, one of which is, "The day of the Lord is as a thousand years"; and another, "As the days of a tree shall be the days of my people." His mistake about the statue of Simon Magus we let go; as also his credulity in placing the Sibylline books on a level with the writings of the Hebrew prophets, or nearly so, attributing to them a real inspiration, and quoting them as authority, — sad proof of the sort of evidence which could satisfy him. We have noticed one of his chronological errors. It would be easy to multiply specimens. Thus he seems to place Moses, whom he calls first of the prophets, five thousand years before Christ; David, fifteen hundred; and the last of the prophets, eight hundred: † in the two latter cases, committing an error in chronology of about four hundred years; and, in the first, a much greater, even supposing that the prophecy in question is to be attributed to Adam, and that all he meant to say, by calling Moses the first prophet, is, that he was the first recorder of prophecy.

His want of accuracy in citing from the Old Testament has often and justly been made a subject of complaint. He frequently misquotes, ascribing to one prophet the words of another, — as to Isaiah the words of Jeremiah,‡ or to Jeremiah the language of Daniel.§ When a passage does not exactly suit his purpose, he does not hesitate to add to the original to render it more appropriate; an instance of which

* *Dial.*, p. 200.
† *Apol.* I., pp. 62, 68, 68.
‡ *Apol.* I., p. 75.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

occurs in his manner of citing Ps. xxiv. 7, "Lift up the gates of heaven," * the last two words being supplied to make the passage applicable to Christ's ascent into heaven, which, he says, it is designed to predict.

With regard to his quotations, indeed, the most indulgent critics have found it impossible to exculpate him from the charge of the utmost carelessness. His want of exactness is admitted; and the best excuse which has been offered for him is, that he quotes from recollection, and that his errors must therefore be attributed to a treacherous memory. This supposition acquits him of intentional fraud; but, unfortunately, his inaccuracies are often of such a character, that a detection of them is sufficient to overthrow the whole train of reasoning founded on the citations in which they occur.

As a critic and interpreter, it is not saying too much to affirm that he is of no authority. He is exceedingly deficient in discrimination, and a knowledge of the laws and usages of language. He gives in to the allegorical mode of interpretation adopted by Philo and his school. He is perpetually beating about for hidden meanings, and far-fetched and mystical constructions, and typical representations and fanciful resemblances. Thus he considers the tree of life planted in Paradise a symbol of Christ's cross, through which he achieved his triumphs; and he goes on to descant at great length on the symbolic properties of wood. Moses, he tells us, was sent with a rod to deliver his people: with a rod he divided the sea, and brought water out of the rock. By a piece of wood the waters of Marah were made sweet. With a rod, or staff, Jacob passed over the Jordan. Aaron obtained his priesthood by the budding and blossoming of his rod; Isaiah predicted that there should come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse; and David compares the just to a tree planted by the waters. From a tree, God was seen by Abraham: as it is written, "at the oak of Mamre." By a rod and staff, David, says he, received consolation of God. The people, having crossed the Jordan, found seventy willows; and, by casting wood into it, Elisha made iron to swim. In a similar strain he proceeds; † which furnishes no unapt occasion for the sarcastic Middleton

* *Apol.* I., p. 78. † *Dial.*, pp. 188, 184; Otto, c. 86.

to say, that he "applies all the sticks and pieces of wood in the Old Testament to the cross of Christ." *

The virtue of the cross, the emblem of Christ's power and majesty, Justin observes, is discovered in things which fall under notice of the senses; for consider, says he in his first "Apology to the Romans," whether anything can be transacted, of all that is done in the world, without this figure. The sea cannot be traversed without that trophy called a sail; without this figure, the land could not be ploughed; nor could any manual arts be carried on without instruments having the form of the cross. And the human figure, he remarks, differs from that of other animals, only as it is erect and has extension of hands, and a nose projecting from the face, answering the purposes of respiration; showing no other than the figure of the cross. The prophet, he continues, has also said,† "The breath before our face, Christ the Lord"; an illustration or application which will be considered, we suppose, sufficiently fanciful. Moreover, he continues, addressing the emperor, your standards, which are borne before you in public as ensigns of power and royalty, demonstrate the efficacy of this figure. In this form, too, ye consecrate the images of your dead emperors, and number them with the gods.‡

God, he observes to Trypho, teaching us the mystery of the cross, says, in the blessing with which he blesses Joseph,§ "The horns of a unicorn are his, and with them shall he push the nations to the end of the earth." Now, the horns of the unicorn, he continues, exhibit, as it can be demonstrated, no other figure than that of a cross; and this he attempts to show by a very minute analysis. Then as to the assertion, "With them shall he push the nations to the extremities of the earth": this is no more than what is now taking place among all people; for, struck by the horn, that is, penetrated by the mystery of the cross, they of all nations are turned from idols and demons to the worship of God.‖

Again: when the people warred with Amalek,¶ and Jesus (Joshua), the son of Nun, led the battle, Moses, he says,

* *Free Inquiry*, p. 29.
† Lam. iv. 20. *Apol.* I., p. 76; Otto, c. 55.
‡ *Apol.* I., c. 55, Otto.
§ Deut. xxxiii. 17.
‖ *Dial.*, p. 188; Otto, c. 91.
¶ Exod. xvii.

prayed with his arms extended in the form of a cross: and if they were at any time lowered, so as to destroy this figure, the tide turned against the Israelites; but, as long as this figure was preserved, they prevailed. They finally conquered, he gravely remarks, not because Moses prayed, but because, while the name of Jesus was in the van of the battle, the former, standing or sitting with his arms extended, exhibited the figure of a cross. His sitting or bent posture, too, he observes, was expressive; and thus the knee is bent, or the body prostrated, in all effectual prayer. Lastly, the rock on which he sat had, says he, "as I have shown," a symbolic reference to Christ.*

Such is the use to which this Father converted his knowledge of the Scriptures, and such the arguments by which he hoped to convince the philosophic Emperor of Rome, and win to the faith of the cross the obstinate and "stiff-necked" Jew. In interpreting the several parts of the Old Testament, historical and prophetical, and reasoning upon them, he follows his own wayward fancy, and capricious and perverted taste. He appears to have considered any application, and almost any construction of its language, however visionary or improbable, justifiable, upon the notion he had taken up, that some hidden meaning or mystery lay couched under every sentence, and almost every word. The business of interpretation he seems to have regarded as little more than a task of invention: and he gives evidence, we confess, of having possessed an imagination sufficiently prolific; for his writings teem with the most odd and grotesque fancies.

We intended to have added some distinct specimens of his weak and inconclusive reasoning; but we are weary of our theme, and doubt not that our readers are so too. Nor, after what we have said, will they deem further illustration of his intellectual character and habits necessary. They will readily credit us, we trust, when we affirm that his logic is entitled to as little respect as his talent for criticism and exposition; though the latter, particularly, he claims to have received as a special gift of God's grace. This power, he says, is not in me; but, by the grace of God alone, it is given me to understand his Scriptures.

* *Dial.*, pp. 187, 188; Otto, c. 90.

He has been extolled, as we have said, for his multifarious and profound acquisitions. Yet he began by despising the exact sciences; and seems, through life, to have treated them with thorough contempt. That he could have possessed only scanty stores of philological learning is rendered evident by the whole tenor of our foregoing remarks. He was ignorant, or knew very little, of the original language of the Old Testament, as appears from the criticisms he occasionally introduces on Hebrew words. He often, however, quotes the poets of Greece, and refers to the writings of her philosophers; and with the doctrines of her distinguished schools he appears to have been tolerably well acquainted. Yet it is evident that his reading was neither exact nor profound. Photius extols his affluence of historical knowledge and varied learning, as well as his sublime attainments in philosophy; but his writings fail of confirming this judgment. We have seen what his pretensions in chronology are. He never appears to have thought of sifting his authorities, and was eminently "uncritical" in everything, — history, philology, exegesis, and whatever else is involved in the subjects of which he treats.

CHAPTER IV.

THEOLOGY OF JUSTIN. — ORIGIN OF THE TRINITY. — JUSTIN'S DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS. — HIS LANGUAGE CITED. — THE LOGOS A HYPOSTATIZED ATTRIBUTE OF THE FATHER. — CONVERTED INTO A REAL BEING IN TIME, AND NOT FROM ETERNITY. — THE SON NUMERICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THE FATHER. — VOLUNTARILY BEGOTTEN.

WE proceed now to speak of the theology of Justin; and, first, of what occupies a prominent, we may say the most prominent, place in it, — his doctrine of the Logos, or divine nature of Christ, as it has been since called. The topic is one of special importance to those who would understand the theology of the Fathers, or would know what support the doctrine of the Trinity really derives from the writings of early Christian antiquity. It is a topic which, on proceeding to the inquiry how far the general belief of the Christian Church in later times is sanctioned by the authority of these writings, presents itself at the very threshold, and one on which it is desirable that we should obtain precise ideas; since, without them, the writings of the subsequent Fathers will present a labyrinth which it will not be easy to thread. But having once settled the meaning of Justin's terms, and the real purport of his opinions, we shall find some gleam of light to guide us on our way. These considerations must constitute our apology for the length of some of the discussions introduced in this and some subsequent chapters. We are aware, that, to the general reader, discussions of this sort must necessarily be somewhat dry; as is the whole subject, in fact, of the historical development of the Trinity, to which they belong. But they who would understand the theology of the Fathers have no very smooth road to travel.

The points to be settled are, in what sense Justin used the term "Logos," as applied to Jesus; what were the nature and rank assigned him by this early Father; and whence his

peculiar views were derived. The great similarity between his doctrine of the Logos and that taught by Philo and the Alexandrian Platonists, is not denied. They, however, who ascribe a scriptural origin to the doctrine of the Trinity, contend that "the substance of Justin's idea of the Logos rests on a purely scriptural and Christian foundation"; though they are compelled to admit that this idea was modified, and received its scientific form, through the influence of the "Alexandrian and Philonic theosophy." The early Fathers, says Semisch, from whom the expressions just used are taken, "only poured the contents of the Scriptures into a Philonian vessel: they viewed the biblical passages through a Philonian medium. The matter of their idea of the Logos is essentially scriptural; but its construction betrays a Philonian ground-plan. Thus it is with Justin."* To this statement we cannot assent. We believe, and trust that we shall be able to show, that, for the original and distinctive features of the doctrine of the Logos, as held by the learned Fathers of

* Vol. ii. p. 180. The work referred to is, *Justin Martyr,—his Life, Writings, and Opinions*, by the Rev. Charles Semisch. Translated from the German, by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1848. 16mo.

These volumes are the fruit of much labor; and though they lead to no new results in regard to the life, character, position, and writings of Justin, yet, in some particulars, they contain a useful summary of his views; while, in others, they present, as we think, a most distorted representation of them. The best parts are those which relate to his mode of defending Christianity, and his attacks on Judaism and Heathenism, vol. i. pp. 306–332, and vol. ii. pp. 1–128. From these the careful reader will learn, not what arguments for the truth and divine origin of Christianity are most solid, but what arguments presented themselves to the mind of a well-educated Christian of the second century, and what he considered as most valid against the objections urged in his day. How miracles were regarded appears from vol. ii. pp. 100–128. This part is well executed. The writer's statement of Justin's doctrine of the Logos, vol. ii. pp. 165–206, has in it many features of truth; but, when he comes to trace this doctrine to its source, he is, in our opinion, wholly at fault. The chapter on the Holy Spirit contains a total misrepresentation of the opinions of Justin. It is, from beginning to end, a tissue of bad reasoning, and false and contradictory statement. The chapter on Justin's Doctrine of Salvation, too, contains several misstatements of his views. The writer's general estimate of Justin's literary and intellectual character, however, is sufficiently correct; and the work, to one who knows how to use it, may form a profitable study. But the misfortune is, that a person must be already well acquainted with the writings and opinions of Justin, in order to distinguish what is true from what is false in its statements.

the second and third centuries, we must look, not to the Jewish Scriptures, nor to the teachings of Jesus and his Apostles, but to Philo and the Alexandrian Platonists. In consistency with this view, we maintain that the doctrine of the Trinity was of gradual and comparatively late formation; that it had its origin in a source entirely foreign from that of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures; that it grew up, and was ingrafted on Christianity, through the hands of the Platonizing Fathers; that in the time of Justin, and long after, the distinct nature and inferiority of the Son were universally taught; and that only the first shadowy outline of the Trinity had then become visible.

On the subject of the Logos, Justin has expressed himself much at length; and, though he is occasionally somewhat obscure and mystical, a careful examination of the several terms and illustrations he employs leaves little doubt as to his real meaning. His system presents one or two great and prominent features, which we can hardly fail to seize, and which will serve as the basis of our future reasonings. Before we proceed to our citations, however, we must request our readers to bear in mind, that both Jews and Heathens constantly alleged the humble origin and ignominious death of Jesus as a reproach on Christianity. Other sects borrowed lustre from the names of their founders; but the "new superstition," as it was called, which now began widely to diffuse itself, was derived, as it was urged, from an obscure individual, who perished as a malefactor, with every mark of ignominy. This stigma Paul had disregarded: he gloried in what was "to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness." But the Christians of Justin's time occupied a different position; and whether or not the learned defenders of Christianity, in what they taught of the preëxistent Logos, and the great stress they laid on the miraculous birth, were, as has been maintained, influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by a desire to wipe off the reproach of the cross, certain it is, their doctrines had a tendency this way. Both the Jewish and the Heathen objections were, to a certain extent, met by the doctrine of the Logos.

Let us see what Justin says of the Logos. In his second

Apology he speaks of the "Son" as the "Logos, that, before created things, was with God, and begotten, when, through him, he [God] in the beginning created and adorned all things." * The meaning is, that he was converted into a real being, having a separate personal subsistence, at the time God, using him as his instrument, was about to proceed to the work of creation. That this is the meaning is obvious from the use of the term "when" (we use Otto's text): he was begotten of God "*when* through him he created and embellished all things," — language which makes the two acts almost simultaneous, the one taking place immediately before the other. The doctrine of the "eternal generation" of the Son is excluded: this was no doctrine of Justin. The *attribute*, like all the divine attributes, was eternal; but it became *hypostatized*, or converted into a real person, in time; that is, just before the creation of the world. Justin elsewhere, as we shall presently see, speaks of the Son as the "beginning" of God's "ways to his works."

Again: Justin says, "In the beginning" (or, as Otto understands it, "As the beginning"), "before all creatures, God begat of himself a certain rational power, which, by the Holy Spirit, is also called the Glory of the Lord, — now Son, now Wisdom, now Angel, now God, now Lord, and Logos (reason, wisdom, or speech); and by himself is called Chief Captain (Captain of the host, Josh. v. 14), when in the form of man he appears to Joshua, the son of Nun: for all these appellations he has, because he ministers to the will of the Father, and, by the volition of the Father, was begotten." † To explain this process of generation, Justin takes the examples of human speech and of fire. "For, in uttering speech" (logos), he says, "we beget speech; yet not by abscission, so that the speech (logos) that is in us," or power of speech, or reason whence speech proceeds, "is by this act diminished." So, too, he adds, "One torch is lighted from another, without diminishing that from which it is lighted; but the latter re-

* *Apol.* II., c. 6, Otto. See also *Dial. cum Tryph.*, c. 62, where similar language is found.

† *Dial. cum Tryph.*, c. 61, Otto. "In," or "As the beginning," or God so making a beginning, this being the first act of creation. See Otto's note.

maining unaltered, that which is lighted from it exists and appears, without lessening that whence it was lighted." * These are intended to be illustrations of the mode in which the Son is produced from the Father. In confirmation of his views, Justin quotes from the Septuagint version the passage in Proverbs,† in which Wisdom, by which he supposes is meant the Son, is represented as saying, "The Lord created me the beginning of his ways to his works: before the ages he founded me; in the beginning, before he made the earth or the abyss, before the hills, he begat me." This Wisdom Justin regarded as God's offspring, produced as above described; and him, this first of his productions, he supposes God to address, when he says (Gen. i. 26), "Let us make man in our own image." ‡

Language similar to the above occurs in the first Apology, with an additional observation worthy of notice. Christ is "the first-born of God, and that reason [logos, ambiguous in the original, meaning either reason or speech, word] of which the whole human race partakes; and those who have lived according to reason are Christians, though esteemed atheists. Such among the Greeks were Socrates and Heraclitus, and others like them; and, among the Barbarians, Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, Elias, and many others." § So, in the second Apology, we are told that Socrates "knew Christ in part; for he is that reason (logos) which is in all": ‖ and whatever was well said or done by philosophers and legislators is to be attributed to the Logos in part shared by them. He calls it the "insown" or "implanted" logos, or reason; of the seed of which all possess some portion. These and other equivalent expressions occur more than once. They seem intended to refer to a principle different from the ordinary faculty of reason in man; that is, to a peculiarly existing

* *Dial. cum Tryph.*, c. 61, Otto.

† *Ibid.*, Prov. viii. 22–36: "The Lord created me the beginning of his ways," etc. So Origen and Tertullian, as well as Justin, understood the passage. See Otto, *in loc.*, notes 1 and 12. Tertullian (*Adv. Hermog.*, c. 8) says expressly, "There was a time when the Son was not."

‡ *Dial.*, pp. 158, 159; Thirlby, pp. 266, 268; Otto, c. 62.

§ *Apol.* I., p. 71; Otto, c. 46.

‖ *Apol.* II., p. 95; Otto, c. 10.

Logos, or reason, which has in its nature something divine, being derived immediately from God. This Logos was Christ, who afterwards became flesh. It guided Abraham and the patriarchs; inspired the prophets: and the seed of it being implanted, as just said, in every mind, all, as well illiterate as philosophers, who in former ages obeyed its impulse, were partakers of Christ, the Son of God; and might therefore be called Christians, and, as such, were entitled to salvation.* The Gentile philosophers and legislators, knowing the Logos only in part, fell into error; but Christ is the "whole Logos," which Christians possess, and are therefore more enlightened.†

That Justin believed this divine principle of reason to be converted into a real being, the following passage, among numerous others, plainly and expressly shows. We give the passage, which in the original is exceedingly prolix, in an epitomized form, but without injury, we believe, to the sense. There are, he says, some who suppose that the Son is only a virtue or energy of the Father, emitted as occasion requires, and then again recalled: as, for example, when it comes to announce the commands of the Father, and is therefore called a messenger; or when it bears the Father's discourse to men, and is then called Logos. They, as he observes, think that the Son is inseparable from the Father, as the light of the sun on the earth is inseparable from the sun which is in the heavens, and is withdrawn with it at its setting. But from these, he tells us, he differs. Angels have a separate and permanent existence: so this virtue, which the prophetic spirit calls God and Angel, is not, as the light of the sun, to be distinguished from the Father in name only, but is something numerically different; that is, it is not the Father under another name, but a real being, wholly distinct from him.‡

Justin frequently draws comparisons and illustrations from the Heathen mythology. The following, in which Mercury is introduced, presents a coincidence of language a little re-

* *Apol.* II., p. 95; Otto, c. 10; also *Dial.*, c. 45, Otto.
† *Apol.* II., c. 8–18, Otto.
‡ *Dial.*, p. 221; Thirlby, pp. 412, 413; Otto, c. 128.

markable: "When we say that Jesus Christ, our teacher, was the Logos, the first progeny of God, born without commixtion; that he was crucified, and died, and arose, and ascended into heaven, — we affirm nothing different from what is said by you of the sons of Jove, and nothing new. You know how many sons your esteemed writers attribute to him. There is Mercury, the *interpreting logos, and teacher of all;* Æsculapius," and the rest; between whom and Jesus, Justin proceeds to draw a parallel.*

Again: speaking of the generation of the Son, he says, "When we call him the Logos of God, born of him in a peculiar manner, and out of the course of ordinary births, we speak a common language with you, who call Mercury the *angelic logos* from God."† The meaning seems to be: "We speak of a true and real person, so born, as we have said, whom we call Logos (speech): a term you apply to Mercury."

From the extracts above given, it is evident, that, although Justin employs the term "Logos" in different senses, the primary meaning he usually attributes to it, when used with reference to God, is reason, considered as an attribute of the Father; and that, by the generation of the Son, he understood the conversion of this attribute into a real person. The Logos, which afterwards became flesh, originally existed in God as his reason, or perhaps his wisdom or energy. Having so existed from eternity, it was, a little before the creation of the world, voluntarily begotten, thrown out, or emitted, by the Father, or proceeded from him; for these terms are used indiscriminately to express the generation of the Son, or the process by which what before was a quality acquired a distinct personal subsistence. That such was the doctrine of Justin, and of the ante-Nicene Fathers generally, concerning the generation of the Son, the whole strain of their writings affords abundant evidence. They supposed, we repeat, that the logos, or reason, which once constituted an attribute of the Father, was at length converted into a real being, and that

* *Apol.* I., p. 56; Thirlby, p. 81; Otto, c. 21.
† *Ibid.*, p. 57; Thirlby, p. 88; Otto, c. 22.

this was done by a voluntary act of the Father. To this process they applied the term "generation," and sometimes "emission" or "prolation"; nor do they appear originally to have objected to that of "creation." *

* Trypho is allowed, without contradiction, to speak of Christ as "made by God" (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, c. 64). Tatian calls him the "first-begotten work of the Father," ἔργον πρωτότοκον τοῦ πατρός (*Orat. ad Græc.*, c. 5).

CHAPTER V.

THE VIEWS OF JUSTIN AND THE FATHERS NOT DERIVED FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT. — LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT EXAMINED. — OF THE NEW. — JUSTIN INGRAFTED ON CHRISTIANITY THE SENTIMENTS OF THE LATER PLATONISTS. — STATEMENTS OF LEARNED TRINITARIANS. — PHILO'S DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS. — ATTEMPTS TO SOFTEN THE CHARGE OF PLATONISM AGAINST THE FATHERS.

THE inquiry now presents itself, Whence were these views, which evidently constitute the germ of the Trinity, derived? From the Jewish and Christian Scriptures? or from the doctrines of Plato, as expounded by his later followers, and especially the Jew Philo? We say, without hesitation, the latter. The term "Logos," which Justin and the other Fathers use to express the divine nature of the Son, frequently occurs, as our learned readers well know, in the Septuagint version of the Hebrew Scriptures, and is rendered in our Bibles by "Word." But neither the original Hebrew term, nor the corresponding term, "Logos," in the Septuagint, ever bears the meaning which these Fathers attach to it, but is used in a totally different sense; nor do we find, in the whole Bible, the least trace of the generation of the Son by the conversion of an attribute of the Father into a real person. In passages like the following, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made," Justin supposes that it was meant to be asserted that they were made by the rational power, or Son, here referred to. The expressions in Proverbs — "The Lord created me the beginning of his ways"; "before the depths he begat me" — were adduced as referring to his birth, or production. Numerous other expressions, occurring in the Old Testament, may be referred to the same class, and were explained in a similar manner. But the Jews attributed no such meaning to the language in question; nor does it appear naturally fitted to suggest it. The notions it conveyed to

their minds were very simple and obvious. The sentiments of the Fathers savored of a metaphysical and speculative philosophy, evidently the growth of a different soil. The Jews were not familiar with the abstractions of philosophy, as their current phraseology bears ample testimony. They describe the perfections and agency of the Divine Being in precisely the language which we should expect would occur to the minds of an exceedingly primitive, and in some respects rude, people. They resort, as was natural, chiefly to comparisons and images, borrowed from sensible objects and human modes of action. Their views were very little spiritualized; and many of the expressions they employed in reference to the Deity were strictly anthropomorphitical.

We will explain our meaning by a few examples, in which the attributes and agency of God are illustrated by allusions, which to us, familiar as we are with the sublimer discoveries of Christianity and the improvements of modern science, appear feeble and inadequate. Thus, to convey a notion of his eternity, they speak of him as existing before the hills. To aid the imagination in comprehending his immensity and greatness, they are content to draw illustrations from human sovereignty. They represent him as a mighty King, having the heavens for his throne, and the earth for his footstool. To give some conception of his power, his universal presence, and knowledge embracing all objects, they describe him as having human organs, — as hands, eyes, and ears, — ever active and vigilant. His eyes run to and fro over the whole earth; his arm is outstretched to punish or to save; he whets his sword, he bends his bow, he discharges the swift arrows of his wrath. When he wishes to know what is passing on earth, he is exhibited to our view as descending from a height above us; thus: "The Lord came down to see the tower which the children of men builded." * Again: hearing reports of the wickedness of Sodom, he resolves to "go down," and ascertain whether they are correct; "and, if not," he is introduced as saying, "I will know." † He is described as walking abroad, and conversing familiarly with man; as having human passions and affections; as repenting and grieved for what he

* Gen. xi. 5. † Gen. xviii. 21.

had done; as angry and taking revenge; as laughing at the distresses of his enemies; as mocking and deriding. In consistency with this language, which ascribes to him human organs, affections, and modes of action, he is represented, when about to exert his power, or produce an effect he wills, as *speaking*, or issuing his *word*, or command. Thus, in the process of creation, he is introduced as proclaiming an order at every step: "Let there be light. Let there be a firmament. Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear. Let us make man." Everything is said to be done by a command, because human sovereigns are accustomed to issue a *word*, or order, when they wish their designs to be carried into effect. In conformity with this usage, the Psalmist says, "By the *word* of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth. He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast."* In all this there is no mystery.† God issues his command, or his *word*, and it is executed, and the heavens and the earth appear: that is, he produces an effect; there is an exertion of his power; he wills, and the event corresponds to his will. Here is no allusion to any intermediate agent, — to a Son, who receives and executes his commands: a rational power, emanating from his own substance, and forming a link between him and his creatures. All this is a fiction of later times.

Such is the meaning of the term "word," or "word of the Lord," as used by Moses, the patriarchs, and by David. The notion the Jews attached to it was the simplest and most obvious imaginable. There is no obscurity whatever attending it. The term formed part of their anthropomorphitical language, and is to be classed with other terms constantly used by them in reference to the Deity, — as hands, mouth, nostrils, all of which they apply to him. A similar explanation

* Ps. xxxiii. 6, 9.

† All the effects of his provident designs, every occurrence which takes place by his remote agency, is spoken of in similar language; thus: "He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth; his word runneth very swiftly. He giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes. He sendeth out his word, and melteth them." (Ps. cxlvii. 15, 16, 18.)

is to be given of the term when it occurs in such phrases as the following: "The word of God came to Nathan," or to the prophets. This is a mere idiom of speech, growing out of the very primitive notions of the people who employed it. It was not the result of policy or reflection, but rather of untutored and childlike simplicity. The meaning is, simply, that the prophets received divine communications. The Apostle very correctly expresses this meaning, when he says, "Holy men of God spake as moved by the Holy Ghost"; that is, by a divine impulse.*

Let us now proceed to the Proverbs, or the ethical writings of the Old Testament. Justin and the other Fathers, as before stated, imagined that by Wisdom, of which we have a magnificent description in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, was meant the Logos, or Son, — a real being, the agent or minister of the Father in the work of creation.† But the author of the chapter in question had evidently no such thought. Nothing, in fact, was further from his meaning, as the whole structure and connection of the passage put beyond doubt. The Oriental imagination, as every one knows, delighted in metaphor and bold and striking imagery. The strongest figures were often employed to express a very obvious and simple fact or sentiment; and, among these, a favorite one was personification, by which abstract qualities are clothed with the properties of a real being, and represented as speaking and acting as such. This figure frequently occurs in the sacred writings of the Jews, particularly in their poetical books. Thus truth, justice, mercy, and other abstract properties, are often introduced as possessing proper personality; in other words, as real beings: as, "Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the

* 2 Pet. i. 21.

† Dr. Watts once supposed, that by Wisdom, in this place, was meant Christ's preëxistent human soul united with the divine nature (*Glory of Christ*, Disc. iii. § 5). He was led into a belief of this strange doctrine of the preexistence of Christ's human soul from the circumstance that the Scriptures, in several passages in which, as he supposes, they speak of his existence before his incarnation, evidently ascribe to him a nature inferior to God. We are not surprised that Dr. Watts, entertaining these views, afterwards became a Unitarian.

earth, and Righteousness shall look down from heaven." * By the same lively figure, the author of the Proverbs gives Wisdom a voice, and represents her as offering counsel and admonition, and calling on men to listen: and, to show her title to respect, she proceeds to describe her antiquity and excellence; speaks of herself as guiding the great and noble of the earth; as having her residence of old with God, as one brought up with him, and rejoicing always in his presence. The purport of this language, no one, at the present day, mistakes. All admit it to be only a bold personification of the attribute of wisdom, as it is possessed by the Divine Being, and, in a feebler degree, by his intelligent offspring; in other words, only a well-known rhetorical figure.† Such language could never have suggested to the early Fathers their peculiar views of the Logos, or Son of God.‡ That they should have considered it as having reference to him, after those views had been imbibed from other sources, need not, however, surprise us.

If we proceed to examine the writings of the Jews which belong to a period subsequent to the formation of the sacred canon, and which, though not of authority as a rule of faith, are yet valuable as a record of opinions, we arrive at conclusions similar to the foregoing. We find instances of bold personification, but discover no traces of the metaphysical doctrine of the Logos, or generation of the Son, as held by the early Christian Fathers.§

* Ps. lxxxv. 10, 11.

† Similar instances of personification occur in the literature of all nations, and are resorted to occasionally by the gravest writers. Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, (b. i. ch. 16,) has a specimen of it, remarkable for its beauty. Speaking of Law, he says, "Her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage: the very least, as feeling her care; and the greatest, as not exempted from her power."

‡ "The Logos did not grow out of the Old Testament," says Bunsen (i. 76). On the poetical personifications of the Old Testament, see Hagenbach, First Per., § 40.

§ Thus, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, the work of some Alexandrian Jew, though he sometimes uses expressions which savor a little of the Egyptian school, had evidently no conception of the conversion of an attribute into a real being. After speaking of Wisdom as "the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and an image of his goodness," he

If we turn to the authors of the Gospels and the Epistles of the New Testament, we find that their views agree, in all essential points, with those inculcated by the writers under the old dispensation. Their language and conceptions are more spiritualized and refined. There is less of grossness in their modes of representing the Deity. Still, much of the ancient phraseology is retained; and, where a departure is made from it, this departure is not such as indicates that the opinions of the Jews, or Jewish Christians, concerning the divine nature and operations, had undergone that change which the supposition of their belief in the doctrine of the generation of the Son, as explained by the Fathers, would imply, but the reverse. The New Testament, if we except the introductory verses to John's Gospel, is remarkably free from expressions which have the least appearance of favoring the metaphysical notions of the Fathers concerning the nature of the Son; and these verses favor them only in appearance.* The remaining part of the Gospels and Epistles is, in our view, totally opposed to those notions, and everything resembling them. The language of Jesus and his Apostles certainly never could have suggested them; and the general strain of it cannot, by the greatest exercise of ingenuity, be distorted into a shape which lends them the feeblest support. To those who doubt the truth of this statement we would say, Take the language of Justin, as we have represented it, faithfully, as we believe; render your minds familiar with it; and then

proceeds (chap. viii. 3, 4): "In that she is conversant with God, she magnifieth her nobility; for she is privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God, and a lover of his works." In a prayer, recorded in the next chapter, the following expressions occur: "O God of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, who hast made all things with thy word, and ordained man through thy wisdom! . . . . give me Wisdom, that sitteth by thy throne. . . . . And Wisdom was with thee, which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou madest the world. . . . . Oh! send her out of thy holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory" (chap. ix. 1, 2, 4, 9, 10). Again: the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xxiv. 3, 4, 9) introduces Wisdom as saying, "I came out of the mouth of the Most High: he created me from the beginning, before the world. I dwell in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar." But who does not see that these instances are only specimens of the style in which the Oriental genius, ever fond of glowing representations, metaphor, and fiction, is accustomed to give utterance to its thoughts?

* See Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, etc., p. 307, etc., third edition.

sit down, and read over carefully the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists: you will rise from the perusal, we are confident, with a firm conviction, that, with the exception above made, no trace of such language is found in those writings, and that they could not possibly have been the source whence it was derived. This conviction, we think, must force itself upon the mind of every one, who, without prejudice, compares the style of the authors of the New Testament with that of Justin and subsequent Fathers, who trod in his steps. He must be struck with the total dissimilarity between the two classes of writings; not a dissimilarity in modes of expression merely, but a real dissimilarity, or rather opposition, of sentiment. The plain inference is, that the Fathers alluded to drew from other sources besides the Bible, and that they suffered their learning to corrupt the simplicity of their faith.*

This inference is strengthened by the fact, that the Logos-doctrine, as developed by Justin Martyr and the learned writers of a subsequent age, does not disclose itself, as we have seen in our preliminary chapter, in the compositions ascribed to any of the so-called Apostolic Fathers of whom we possess any literary remains the authenticity of which can be established on even probable grounds. This we regard as a significant fact. Considering the date of these compositions, so far as it can be ascertained with any approach to certainty, they furnish conclusive evidence, we think, against the scriptural origin of the doctrine referred to; and confirm our argument, if it needed confirmation, that Justin, in what he teaches of the Logos, drew from other sources, and not from the sacred writings, or from primitive Christian antiquity.

* It may be said, possibly, that there is a class of passages in the New Testament which favors the doctrine of the Fathers, that God employed the Son as his agent in creating the universe. We refer to those (they are very few) in which the following language, or something like it, occurs: "By whom also he made the worlds," or ages (Heb. i. 2). "For by him [that is, Jesus as an instrument] were all things created" (Col. i. 16). These and similar phrases, however, may refer to the ages, periods, or dispensations; and we may say, "By, or for, whom he constituted the ages or dispensations." That is, they may refer not to a physical, but to a moral creation, or constitution of things. (See Grotius and Rosenmüller *in loc.*) But whether we put this or any other construction on the passages, they exhibit no traces of the peculiar Logos-doctrine of the Fathers.

The inference just stated, we conceive, would be authorized, were the evidence that Justin's sentiments respecting the Logos corresponded in their essential features with those of the later or Alexandrian Platonists far less satisfactory than it is. But this evidence is absolutely irrefragable. Look at the concessions of Trinitarians themselves. Few names stand higher in the Romish Church than those of Petavius and Huet, or Huetius: the latter, Bishop of Avranches, a learned man, and the original editor of Origen's Commentaries on the New Testament; the former, a Jesuit, profoundly versed, as his writings prove, in a knowledge of Christian antiquity. Among Protestants, Cudworth, author of the "Intellectual System," stands preëminent for erudition; and Mosheim, and many will add Horsley, the antagonist of Dr. Priestley, have no mean fame. Yet all these — and we might mention several others, all belonging to the ranks of Trinitarians — admit, in substance, the charge of Platonism brought against the Fathers.* Horsley says expressly that the Platonizing Fathers were "the Orthodox of their age," and contends for "such a similitude" between the doctrine of the Fathers and Platonists "as speaks a common origin";† and Cudworth has instituted a very labored comparison to show that "there is no so great difference," as he expresses it, "between the genuine Platonic Trinity, rightly understood, and the Christian."‡ Brucker, the historian of Philosophy, also a Trinitarian, gives in his learned work the result of a diligent examination of the writings of Justin, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others. His conclusion, in which he is fully borne out by his citations, is, that the taint of Platonism strongly adhered to these Fathers; and that, through their writings, the whole Church, in fact, became infected.§

* Petav. *Theol. Dogmata*, t. ii. lib. i. c. iii. et seqq.; Huet. *Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. i., and c. ii. quæst. 2. See also Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, etc., pp. 94, 95, third edition, where the language of Mosheim is quoted.

† See *General Repository and Review*, vol. iii. pp. 18, 19.

‡ The whole subject is treated with great learning, *Intell. Syst.*, b. i. ch. iv. p. 557, etc., ed. Lond., 1678.

§ *Hist. Crit. Phil.* See especially t. iii. pp. 813–459. To the above mentioned authorities we may add that of James Basnage, also a learned man and

The great points of resemblance between the views of the Platonists and those of the Christian Fathers, and of Justin in particular, on the subject of the Logos, Son, or second God, may be stated in few words. Plato had spoken of God, and his reason or logos, embracing the patterns or archetypes of things afterwards formed. The latter, sometimes called also the intellect of God, he pronounces "the divinest of all things," and admits it into the number of his primary principles. Whether he regarded it as having a real and proper subsistence, or as only an attribute represented as a person by a sort of poetical fiction, it is of no consequence to determine. It is acknowledged that he sometimes speaks of it in terms that, literally understood, (which, however, they probably were never intended to be,) would lead to the supposition that he considered it a real being, distinct from the Supreme God, or united with him only as proceeding from the fountain of his divinity. Certain it is that it was so explained by his later followers of the Egyptian school, especially after they had become acquainted with the Oriental doctrine of emanations.

Of the opinions of this school, Philo, a learned Jew of Alexandria, who flourished soon after the Christian era, — and who has been called the Jewish Plato, from the striking resemblance of his opinions to those of the Athenian sage, — may be regarded as a fair representative; and his writings were the immediate source whence Justin and the Fathers derived their doctrine of the Logos. Fortunately, these writings, the bulk of them at least, have been preserved; and from them we may gather the sentiments of the Alexandrian Platonists of his time. He admits that there is one Supreme God; but supposes that there is a second God, inferior to him, and begotten of him, called his reason, Logos: the term, as we have seen, employed by Plato to designate his second principle. To this Logos, or intelligent nature, emanating from God, as he considers it, he attributes all the properties

a Trinitarian; *History of the Jews*, b. iv. ch. iv. §§ 21, 22. Among more recent writers, see Baumgarten-Crusius, *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, i. 167, ff., and Otto, *De Justini Martyris Scriptis et Doctrina*, p. 78, et seqq.; also Hagenbach, *Text-Book*, etc., First Period, § 19.

of a real being, and calls him God's "first-born Logos, the most ancient angel, as it were an archangel with many names."* To this "archangel, the most ancient Logos, the Father omnipotent," he says, "granted the preëminent gift, to stand on the confines of both, and separate the created from the Creator; he is continually a suppliant to the immortal God in behalf of the mortal race, which is exposed to affliction and misery; and is also the ambassador sent by the ruler of all to the subject race; being neither unbegotten as God, nor begotten as man, but occupying a middle place between the extremes, being a hostage to both."† He applies the title "God" to him; not using the term, he is careful to say, in its highest sense. When used without the article, as here, he says, referring to the passage in Genesis on which he is commenting, it can be understood only in its secondary sense, the article being prefixed when the Supreme God is referred to. What is "here called God," he says, "is his most ancient Logos."‡ At other times, he speaks of him as the image of God; "the image of God," he says, "is his most ancient Logos"; § and, again, as the Reason of God, embracing, like Plato's Logos, the ideas or archetypes according to which the sensible world was framed. He calls God the fountain of the Logos, and the Logos his instrument, or minister, in forming, preserving, and governing the world; his messenger, and the interpreter of his will to man. [In a fragment preserved by Eusebius,‖ Philo remarks upon a passage in Genesis (ix. 6), which reads, according to the Septuagint version, "For in the image of God did I make man." "This divine oracle," he says, "is full of beauty and wisdom. For it was not possible that anything mortal should be formed after the image of the Most High, the Father of the universe; it could only be formed in the image of the second God, who is his Logos (*or* Reason). It was necessary that the stamp of reason on the

* *De Confus. Ling.*, c. 28; *Opp.*, i. 426, 427, ed. Mang.

† *Quis Rerum Div. Hæres*, c. 42; *Opp.*, i. 501, 502.

‡ *De Somniis*, lib. i. c. 39; *Opp.*, i. 655.

§ *De Confus. Ling.*, c. 28; *Opp.*, i. 427.

‖ [*Præp. Evang.*, lib. vii. c. 18, or Philo, *Opp.*, ii. 625. The passage is taken by Eusebius from Philo's *Questions and Solutions* on Genesis. In the Armenian version of this work, published by Aucher in 1826 with a Latin translation, it is found in *Serm.* ii. c. 62. — ED.]

soul of man should be impressed by the divine Logos;* for the God above (*or* before, *πρό*) the Logos is superior to every rational nature; and it was not lawful that anything begotten should be made like Him who is above (*ὑπέρ*) the Logos, and subsists in a form the most excellent and peculiar to himself."]

Thus using the term Logos in the sense of Reason, having a proper subsistence, and distinct from God, though emanating from the fountain of his divinity, Philo departed from the usage of the sacred writers, who, as we have seen, never attribute to it this meaning. The sum of the matter is, the authors of the Septuagint version and the Platonists employed the same term to express totally different views: the former intending by it simply a mode of action in the Deity; the latter, a real being, his agent and minister in executing his will. Philo was the first, we believe, who attributed to the Logos a permanent personal subsistence; thus proceeding one step beyond Plato: which was the more easy for him, in consequence of his acquaintance with the principles of the Oriental philosophy; for, in the general influx and confusion of opinions at that time in Alexandria, these entered into a strange union with Grecian speculations and Judaism.†

* *δεῖ γὰρ τὸν λογικὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ τύπον ὑπὸ θείου λόγου χαραχθῆναι.*

† We do not say that Philo is always consistent with himself. He certainly wavers. The double sense of the Greek term *logos*, meaning either "reason" or "discourse" (*i. e.*, the internal or uttered *logos*, or word), favored a certain indistinctness or fluctuation of thought. The internal *logos* Philo describes as the "idea of ideas," or "archetypal idea," the "intelligible world," or world of ideas, containing the perfect form of all things afterwards made. The "uttered" or external *logos* is the same *hypostatized*, or converted into a real person. That he should sometimes blend or confound the two senses, need not surprise us. On the Logos as hypostatized by Philo, see Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, pp. 314–316, and p. 332, etc., 3d edit.; Semisch, *Justin Martyr*, ii. 178–177; Hagenbach, *Text-Book*, etc., First Per., § 40. [See also Grossmann, *Quæstiones Philoneæ*, Partic. 1, 2, (1829,) who gives all the passages in which the term *λόγος* occurs in Philo; Gfrörer, *Philo und die jüdisch-alexandrinische Theosophie*, (1831,) i. 168, ff., esp. 243, ff.; Lücke, *Comm. über das Evang. des Johannes*, 3e Aufl. (1840), i. 249, ff., translated by Dr. Noyes in the *Christ. Examiner* for March and May, 1849; Dorner, *Lehre von der Person Christi*, (1845,) i. 22, ff., Eng. trans. i. 19, etc., also transl. by Prof. Stuart in the *Biblioth. Sacra* for Oct. 1850; Keferstein, *Philo's Lehre von den göttlichen Mittelwesen* (1846); Niedner, *De Subsistentiâ τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ apud Philonem Judæum et Joannem Apostolum tributâ*, in his *Zeitschrift für die hist. Theol.*, 1849, Heft 3; Jowett's Essay on St. Paul and Philo, in his *Epistles of St. Paul*, etc., vol. i.; Ritter's *History of Ancient Philosophy*, iv. 426, etc., Eng. trans.; Zeller's *Philosophie der Griechen*, iii 594, ff. — Ed.]

The subject might be further illustrated by an appeal to later writers of the same school, as Plotinus and others; but it is unnecessary. Justin and the subsequent Fathers, we know, read Philo; and their thoughts and expressions often exhibit a remarkable coincidence with his. Indeed, so deeply are their writings imbued with his sentiments and spirit, that without him, as Mosheim observes, they would often be "altogether unintelligible." No one who compares their sentiments in reference to the Logos with those entertained and expressed by him, can doubt, we think, that they must have been derived from a common source; and this could be no other than the doctrines of Plato, as explained by his later followers of the Alexandrian School. Justin, as related in a former chapter, expressly informs us that he became acquainted with these doctrines before his conversion to Christianity, and took incredible delight in them. The process by which he ingrafted them on the original truths of the gospel, without any premeditated design of corruption, which we do not impute to him, it is not difficult to explain.*

* Some attempts, we know, have been made to soften the charge of Platonism against the Fathers; and Semisch, already alluded to in this connection, has a labored argument on the subject. Yet, however, he grants to the "Alexandrian Philonic theosophy an essential share in the formation of Justin's doctrine of the Logos." Whether the source of the influence thus acknowledged be denominated Platonism or "heathen culture," in which, especially in Alexandria, we know that Platonism ruled, is of little consequence. It is difficult to separate the "Alexandrian Philonic theosophy," or "Jewish Alexandrianism," from the new Platonism, as it developed itself in the Alexandrian schools. All admit that Philo "Platonized."

Semisch states very correctly, that "the doctrine of the Logos, especially in the form [in which] it was held by Philo, served as a starting-point and direction to the speculative inquiries of the most ancient Fathers relative to the person of Christ." After this, is he quite consistent in affirming that Justin, who certainly was speculative enough, derived the doctrine directly from the Scriptures? But to say nothing of his inconsistency, seeming, at least, how happens it, one is tempted to ask, if Justin drew his knowledge of the Logos from the Scriptures, that the so-called Apostolic Fathers, who stood so much nearer the fountain, (or whoever wrote what passes under their names,) were ignorant of it, as he admits they were, saying that "every such application of the idea of the Logos was foreign to their minds"? Was Justin's doctrine of the Logos, as Semisch says, the "faith of the church immediately succeeding the Apostles"? How then could the earliest writers after the Apostles have been ignorant of it? See Hagenbach's *Text-Book*, etc., First Period, § 19; Semisch, *Justin Martyr*, ii. 177, 178, 198, 200.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INFERIORITY OF THE SON UNIFORMLY ASSERTED BY THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS. — CONCESSIONS OF TRINITARIANS. — THE FATHER AND SON NOT NUMERICALLY ONE, NOR EQUAL. — PROOFS FROM JUSTIN. — THE SON NOT AN OBJECT OF DIRECT ADDRESS IN PRAYER. — SUM OF THE ARGUMENT. — DISINGENUOUS USE MADE OF TWO PASSAGES FROM JUSTIN. — HIS VIEWS OF THE SPIRIT. — JUSTIN'S NOTICE OF THE HUMANITARIANS OF HIS DAY. — BISHOP WATSON DID NOT DEEM THE PREËXISTENCE OF CHRIST NECESSARY TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF HIS MISSION.

THAT the inferiority of the Son was generally, if not uniformly, asserted by the ante-Nicene Fathers, has been admitted by several learned advocates of the doctrine of the Trinity. Cudworth fully and expressly asserts it* of "the generality of the Christian doctors for the first three hundred years after the Apostles' times"; and Brucker, Petavius, and Huetius, already referred to, and we may add Le Clerc, entertained substantially the same opinion. That the opinion is well founded, has been incontestably proved, we conceive, by Whiston, author of "Primitive Christianity Revived";† and by Whitby, in a work which never has been, and, we hazard nothing in saying, never can be, refuted.‡ That they viewed the Son as distinct from the Father is evident from the circumstance that they plainly assert his inferiority. Besides, they often either directly affirm it, or use language which necessarily implies it.§ They considered him distinct and

* *Intellectual System*, b. i. ch. iv. p. 595.

† See vol. iv.

‡ *Disquisitiones Modestæ in Cl. Bulli Defensionem Fidei Nicenæ.*

§ In fact, the Fathers of the council of Nice, and their predecessors, never thought of asserting that the Son and the Father were *numerically* one. This was a refinement of later times. The term "consubstantial," as used by these Fathers and by the Platonists, the learned well know, implied, not a *numerical*, but only a *specific* identity. By saying that two beings were consubstantial, as that the Son was consubstantial with the Father, they only meant to affirm that they partook of the same common or specific nature, just

subordinate. This appears, as it regards Justin, from the passages already adduced, in the account given of his views of the Logos a few pages back. We shall now exhibit further evidence of the fact.

First, we would observe that Justin expressly contends for two Gods and two Lords, against what he considered the cavils of the Jews. He speaks of the "Lord in heaven" as "Lord of that Lord who appeared on earth," and the source of all his power, titles, and dominion; "the cause of his being powerful and Lord and God."* The expression, "The Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven upon Sodom," he contends, shows that they are really two in number. The same is implied, he says, in the words, "Adam has become as one of us": words, he maintains, which are not to be regarded as a mere figure of speech, as sophists contend. He then quotes the passage from Proverbs already repeatedly referred to; and adds, whence "you may understand, if you will attend, that this progeny of the Father was begotten of him before all creatures; and that which is begotten, as all know, *is different in number* from that which begets it"; that is, they constitute two beings numerically distinct.† Again: "There is another God and Lord *under* the Creator of the universe, who is also called Angel, because he announces to men what the Creator of the universe — above whom there is no other God — wishes to declare. . . . . He who is said to have appeared to Abraham, to Jacob, and to Moses, and is called God, is other than the God who made all things. *I say, in number*, but not in will; for he never did anything except what the Creator of the universe — over whom there is no other God — willed him to do and say."‡ On this point, the language of Justin is too plain to be misunderstood. Trypho had challenged him to show that there is mentioned in the Old Testament any other Lord and God except the Supreme. In reply, he maintains that there is another often spoken of, who appeared to the patriarchs, — the Son and

as two individual men partake of a common nature, — that is, a human nature, — though they constitute two distinct beings, having a separate will and consciousness.

* *Dial.*, p. 222; Thirlby, pp. 413, 414; Otto, c. 129. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Dial.*, c. 56. See also cc. 57–62, Otto.

minister of the Supreme; voluntarily begotten of him, not from eternity, — this he nowhere asserts, — but before the creation of the world, that he might be employed as his agent in its production and afterwards in executing his commands; for all the Old Testament theophanies, according to Justin, belong to the Logos, or Christ; not to the Supreme God, whose visible personal appearance upon earth he regarded as impossible and absurd.*

Again: Justin frequently applies to the Son such phrases as these, — "next in rank," or "next after" God; as the Logos, or Son, is "the first power after God the Father and sovereign Lord of all."† Again: "We reverence him *next after* God." And he sometimes states the ground of this reverence; which is, not because he is of one essence with the Father, but "because for our sakes he became man, and partook of our infirmities, that through him we might be healed."‡ Such phrases, implying inferiority, we say, occur, not once, but repeatedly; and their import cannot be mistaken.

Of the derivation of the Son from the Supreme God, and his subjection to him as the minister of his will, of his names and offices, and especially of his title to be called God in an inferior sense of the term, the following account is given. He is God, *because he is the first-born of every creature;* § the "Lord of hosts, *by the will of the Father giving him the dominion*"; and, "according to the will of the Father, God."‖ Again: he "*received of the Father*, that he should be King and Christ and Priest and Angel, and whatever other such things" (that is, titles, rank, and offices) "he has and had."¶ Again: he "came according to the power of the Omnipotent Father *given* to him."** God *gave glory* to Christ alone, whom he constituted a light to the nations.†† Again: the Lord and Father

* *Dial.*, c. 127, Otto.

† *Apol.* I., p. 63.; Otto, c. 32.

‡ *Apol.* II., p. 97; Otto, c. 18. See also *Apol.* I., cc. 12, 13; and *Dial.*, cc. 126, 127.

§ *Dial.*, p. 218; Otto, c. 125.

‖ *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 182, 221; Otto, cc. 85, 127.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 184; Thirlby, p. 327; Otto, c. 86.

** *Dial.*, p. 230; Thirlby, p. 432; Otto, c. 139.

†† *Dial.*, pp. 162. 163; Otto, c. 65.

of the universe is represented as raising him from the earth, and placing him at his right hand.* He expressed reliance on God, says Justin, for support and safety; nor, he continues, does he profess to do anything of his own will or power. He refused to be called "good"; replying, "One is good, — my Father, who is in heaven." † Again: Justin speaks of him in the following terms: "Who, *since he is the first-begotten Logos of God, is God*"; ‡ that is, he is God by virtue of his birth: in other words, he derived a divine nature from God, just as we derive a human nature from human parents. This was what Justin and others meant when they spoke of the divinity of Christ.

Justin uses another class of expressions, which show that the supremacy of the Father was still preserved in his time. He represents Christians as approaching the Father *through* the Son. *Through* him, he says, they offered thanks and prayers to God; as we do always beseech God, *through* Jesus Christ, to preserve us from the power of demons. § In the account he gives of the celebration of the Supper, he observes that the person presiding "offers up praise and glory to the Father of the universe, *through* the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit." ‖ Again: "In all our oblations we bless the Maker of the universe, *through* his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Spirit." ¶ From these passages, as well as from the whole strain of Justin's writings, it is evident that the Son was not regarded in his time as an object of direct address in prayer. No expression occurs, in any part of his works, which affords the slightest ground for the supposition, that supreme religious homage was ever rendered him, or that his name was ever directly invoked in the devotions of Christians. Prayer was as yet uniformly offered to God *through* the Son, according to the models left in the Scriptures.

We might multiply proofs; but it is unnecessary. We have adduced evidence sufficient, and more than sufficient, we conceive, to demonstrate beyond the possibility of cavil, that Justin regarded the Son as distinct from God, and inferior to him:

* *Dial.*, p. 129; Otto, c. 82.
† *Dial.*, p. 196; Otto, c. 101.
‡ *Apol.* I., p. 81; Otto, c. 63.
§ *Dial.*, p. 128; Otto, c. 30.
‖ *Apol.* I., p. 82; Otto, c. 65.
¶ *Apol.* I., p. 88; Otto, c. 67.

distinct, not, in the modern sense, as forming one of three hypostases,* or persons, — three "distinctions," or three "somewhats," — but distinct in essence and nature; having a real, substantial, individual subsistence, separate from God, from whom he derived all his powers and titles; being constituted under him, and subject in all things to his will. The Father is supreme; the Son is subordinate: the Father is the source of power; the Son the recipient: the Father originates; the Son, as his minister or instrument, executes. They are two in number, but agree, or are one, in will; the Father's will always prevailing with the Son. They have, according to Justin, no other unity.

Thus, then, the argument stands. The views which Justin entertained of the Logos, or Son, as a rational power begotten of God, and his instrument in forming the world, distinct from him and subordinate, cannot be traced in the Jewish or Christian Scriptures. Neither the language of the Septuagint version, in which the term occurs, nor the corresponding Hebrew, was regarded by the Jews as teaching them. They are not alluded to by the Apostles and writers of the New Testament and their immediate successors; or, if indirectly alluded to in one instance, it was only that they might be condemned. But they occur in the writings of the Alexandrian Platonists, as represented by Philo, precisely or nearly in the same form in which they appear in Justin, who is the first Christian writer in whom they are met with; and who, as we learn from himself, was a Platonic philosopher before he was a Christian. To us the conclusion appears irresistible, that he derived them from the Platonists, and, on his conversion, undesignedly incorporated them with the Christian faith. Nor is there anything surprising in all this. It would have been more surprising if the Fathers, educated as Heathen philosophers, should have taken along with them none of their former sentiments on going over to Christianity. The human mind does not so easily part with early and long-cherished

* *Hypostasis* was used by the Fathers, in the time of Justin, as synonymous with substance. The technical sense in which it has since been employed by theologians was at that time wholly unknown. A *hypostatized* attribute is an attribute converted into a distinctly subsisting, personal being.

opinions and prejudices. Then, in the case of the Fathers, it should be considered, their fondness for allegory and mystical interpretations, and general want of skill as critics, — a fault common to them with their Heathen contemporaries, — deprived them of almost the only means of correcting their misapprehensions by a careful and discriminating study of the sacred writings.*

The modern popular doctrine of the Trinity, it will be perceived from the foregoing remarks, derives no support from the language of Justin: and this observation may be extended to all the ante-Nicene Fathers; that is, to all Christian writers for three centuries after the birth of Christ. It is true, they speak of the Father, Son, and prophetic or holy Spirit, but not as co-equal, not as one numerical essence, not as Three in

* The Fathers appear to have felt that some apology was necessary for the very frequent use they made of Platonic sentiments and illustrations; and hence contended, with great pertinacity, that Plato stole from Moses. To take from him, therefore, was, in their view, no plunder: it was only to reclaim pilfered treasures. That he borrowed from the Hebrews is repeatedly asserted by Justin; but the notion did not originate with him. It was propagated long before by the Jews; who, with the exclusive spirit which always characterized them, claimed to be the sole depositaries of truth. The opinion may be traced to Aristobulus, a Jew, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, about one hundred and fifty years before Christ; and who, it seems, dealt plentifully in fables. Aristobulus affirms that both Pythagoras and Plato drew information from the Jewish Scriptures; of which, he says, a Greek translation was made before that of the Seventy. But of this translation no vestige remains; nor, we believe, is any mention made of it by any other writer. The authors of the Septuagint version make no allusion to it; and it therefore, probably, never existed. Josephus asserted, after Aristobulus, that Plato took Moses for his model; and they were followed by Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and others, who found the doctrine exceedingly convenient, as it served, in a measure, to justify what might otherwise have appeared an extravagant admiration of Plato and his opinions. We think, however, that the evidence adduced to show that Plato derived assistance from the compositions of Moses is very unsatisfactory. He probably knew nothing either of the Jewish lawgiver or of his writings. The testimony of the above-mentioned authors, in this case, is entitled to no credit, as it is founded wholly on conjecture. Then the whole spirit of Plato's theological speculations is opposed to the Mosaic doctrines, as may be seen from the slight comparison above instituted with regard to his Logos, or second Principle, to which there is nothing corresponding in the theology of Moses. This subject is amply discussed by Le Clerc (*Epist. Crit.*, vii. and viii.). See also some observations of Brucker, t. i. pp. 635–639; and Basnage's *History of the Jews*, b. iv. ch. iv.

One, in any sense now admitted by Trinitarians. The very reverse is the fact. The doctrine of the Trinity, as explained by these Fathers, was essentially different from the modern doctrine. This we state as a fact as susceptible of proof as any fact in the history of human opinions.*

There are two passages in Justin Martyr, often quoted in support of the Trinity, which deserve a more particular notice. The first is the famous passage so often referred to in the controversy relating to the worship of angels. A late learned prelate of the English Church, in an "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles," quotes it thus:† "We worship and adore the Father; and the Son, who came from him, and taught us these things; and the prophetic Spirit." Now, not to insist on the ambiguity of the words here rendered "worship and adore," — which, if any regard is due to the usage of the best writers, admit with equal propriety of being rendered "reverence and honor," — the passage above given is in a mutilated form. As it stands in Justin, it reads thus: "We reverence and honor him (the Father); and the Son, who came from him, and taught us these things; and the host of other good angels, who follow and resemble him; and the prophetic Spirit."‡ In this form, as it will be readily perceived, it may be adduced to sanction the Romish doctrine of the adoration of angels, with as much propriety as in support of the worship of the three persons of the Trinity. It is one of the passages usually appealed to by Catholics as evidence of the antiquity of that doctrine. If it prove anything, therefore, it proves too much for Protestant Trinitarians. This

* Martini states the three chief and essential points of difference between Justin's system and that of the Nicene-Athanasian orthodoxy which has since prevailed, thus: Athanasian orthodoxy maintained the everlasting, beginningless generation of the Son; Justin believed that it took place a little before the creation of the world. According to the Athanasian orthodoxy, this generation had its ground in an inner necessity of the divine nature; according to Justin, it originated in an act of God's free will. And finally, in the Athanasian system, the Son was in all respects equal with the Father, and was numerically one and the same being; Justin viewed him as subordinate and dependent. *Versuch*, etc., p. 52.

† *Elements of Christian Theology*, etc., by George Tomline, D. D., F. R. S., Lord-Bishop of Lincoln; vol. ii. p. 92, 4th edit.

‡ *Apol.* I., p. 47; Thirlby, p. 11; Otto, c. 6.

objection can be met only by putting on the passage in question a construction manifestly forced and unnatural.*

The other passage referred to is not more to the purpose; in fact, it teaches a doctrine decidedly opposed to the Trinitarian views of the worship due to the Father, Son, and Spirit: —

"That we are not atheists, worshipping as we do the Maker of this universe, . . . offering up to him prayers and thanks, . . . what person of sound mind will not confess? And that we with reason honor (*τιμῶμεν*) Jesus Christ, our teacher of these things, and born

* This has been sometimes attempted with a singular contempt of the laws of interpretation. We will give the passage as it stands in the original: *ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν.* Now it is maintained by some that Justin only meant to say, that Christ taught us those things of which he has been speaking, and also the things relating to angels; by others, that he taught us and the angels those things. Bishop Bull contends for the first of these constructions; Grabe and Cave, for the second. Langus also gives the same, and Thirlby has retained it. Both constructions, however, do the utmost violence to the original. Le Clerc, more honest, gives the sense very correctly as follows: "Nous le servons et nous l'honorons, et son Fils, qui est venu de vers lui, et qui nous a instruits de ces choses, et l'Armée des autres bons Anges, qui l'ont suivi, et qui lui ressemblent, et l'esprit prophétique" (*Biblioth. Anc. et Mod.*, t. xxiii. pp. 18, 19). Whiston (*Prim. Christ.*, vol. iv. p. 66) gives a similar version; and Dr. Priestley very accurately expresses the sense of the passage, thus: "Him (God), and the Son that came from him, and the host of other good angels who accompany and resemble him, together with the prophetic Spirit, we adore and venerate" (*Hist. Corruptions*, part i. sect. 7). Catholic writers, for assigning this sense to the words of Justin, — the only sense, we repeat, of which they admit, — were accused by the earlier Protestants of "playing the Jesuit," and "knavishly dealing with their author." This construction is sustained by Otto (*De Justini M. Scriptis et Doctrina*, p. 142, et seqq.). See also his note to the passage (*Apol.* I., c. 6). A good account of the controversy is given by Semisch (vol. ii. p. 251, et seqq.), with ample references. He supposes that Justin meant to say that a certain reverence and honor were to be given to angels, without defining the precise degree. This is certainly consistent with the spirit of Justin's writings, and follows from the only admissible construction of his language in the passage under notice.

[The natural construction of Justin's language, which Dr. Lamson adopts, is also followed in the recent translation of his writings, published in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*. Burton, in his *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Doctrine of the Trinity* (p. 17), candidly remarks respecting the different constructions contended for by Bull and Grabe, — "I cannot say that they are satisfactory; or that I am surprised at Roman Catholic writers describing them as forced and violent attempts to evade a difficulty." — ED.]

for this end, (who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa in the time of Tiberius Cæsar,) receiving him as the Son of the true God, and holding him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third rank, I shall show. Hence we are accused of madness; because, as they say, we assign the second place after the immutable and eternal God, the Creator of all things, to a crucified man."*

No language could more clearly distinguish between the "worship" rendered to the only true God, the Father, and the "honor" given to the Son and Spirit. The readers of Justin know in what reverence he held the writings of the Hebrew prophets; and to reverence these writings was to honor the "prophetic Spirit" that spoke through them. There is nothing here, that we can see, of the modern Trinity. Equal worship of the Father, Son, and Spirit is excluded in express terms.

We are fully aware of the difficulty of ascertaining precisely what Justin's notions of the Spirit were. His expressions, taken literally, sometimes conflict with each other. Neander,† Baumgarten-Crusius,‡ Otto,§ and others, suppose him to have made the Spirit one of the angels, as the chief or highest angel. "Without doubt," says Otto, "Justin placed him in the number of angels." That a doctrine so extraordinary, and so directly at variance with what is taught clearly, as we think, in other parts of the writings of this Father, however, should have been held by him, requires, in our view, more evidence than is afforded by the passages adduced in proof. If such was his belief, he certainly ascribed personality to the Spirit, but took it out of the number of the Trinity.

We will not say that Justin did not sometimes attribute personality to the Spirit. He may have done so in the two passages just quoted, possibly in some others. If so, however, he certainly was inconsistent and wavering, as were several of the Fathers, now saying one thing, and now another.

* *Apol.* I., p. 51; Otto, c. 13.
† *Hist. of the Christ. Relig. and Church*, i. 609.
‡ *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, ii. 1054.
§ *De Just. Script. et Doct.*, p. 188.

This might be. Semisch, though he believed that Justin "adjudged to the Spirit a personal self-subsistent being and life," yet speaks of the "constant vacillation" of the Fathers concerning it, the Scriptures giving "no precise explanations on its nature and origin." "Something indistinct and vacillating," he says, "naturally and unavoidably pervades the representation of the Fathers respecting the Spirit. It is often a difficult task to bring their expressions into connection and harmony, either with themselves, or still more with their Christology." *

But we see not how any one can doubt that, in a vast majority of instances in which Justin alludes to the Spirit, he uses language which necessarily implies that he regarded it as an influence or mode of direct agency in the Deity. God, according to his representation, gave to the prophets of the Old Testament severally one or another gift of the Spirit, as the "spirit of wisdom to Solomon, the spirit of understanding and counsel to Daniel, of fortitude and piety to Moses," etc.; but all these were united and finally rested in Jesus, through whom similar gifts were bestowed on the early believers.† Speaking of the inspiration of the prophets, however, he generally uses some such phraseology as this: "The prophets spoke only those things which they saw and heard, being filled with the Holy Spirit," or "a holy spirit," for the article is wanting. He had just before said,‡ "speaking by a divine spirit (θείῳ πνεύματι), they foretold things to come." Here, surely, is an influence, not a person. As to the phrases "honoring the Spirit," "reverencing the Spirit," and others of the kind, they present no more difficulty, and no more imply personality than a multitude of expressions which we use every day; as we "honor" a person's courage or sincerity; we "do homage" to moral greatness; we "reverence" truth and right; we "venerate" the martyr spirit.

Justin sometimes confounds the Spirit with the Logos. The "power of God came and overshadowed the Virgin," he observes, in allusion to Luke i. 35; and adds, that by the Spirit or power of God we understand no other than the Logos, the

* *Justin Martyr*, etc., ii. 207, 208.
† *Dial.*, cc. 87, 88, Otto; also c. 89.
‡ *Dial.*, c. 7.

first-begotten of God.* He sometimes speaks of the prophets as inspired by the Logos, and sometimes by the Spirit. Others among the early Fathers confounded the Logos or Son, the first production of God, with the Spirit; a fact which shows how very imperfectly the first rudiments of the doctrine of the Trinity, as explained in subsequent ages, had then disclosed themselves.†

Justin nowhere asserts that the Father, Son, and Spirit constitute one God, as became the custom in later ages, after the doctrine of the Trinity was fully matured. Strictly speaking, he was a Unitarian, as were the Orthodox Fathers generally of his time: that is, they believed the Son to be a being really distinct from the Father, and inferior to him; which we take to be the very essence of Unitarianism. With regard to the *origin* of the Son, their views differed from those afterward taught by Arius. With reference to his *distinct* and *subordinate nature*, however, they often used expressions which the Arians found no difficulty in retaining. The germ of the Trinity, however, was now introduced; and, though the features it was afterwards to assume were not yet defined, it from time to time received modifications and additions, till, about the end of the fourth century, amid the storms and agitations of controversy, it was moulded into a form somewhat resembling that which it has since retained.

There was some diversity of opinion, in Justin's day, respecting the nature of the Son. He was himself, as we have seen, a believer in Christ's preëxistence; but this, he tells us, was not the universal belief of his age. There were some who rejected it, being believers in the simple humanity of Jesus; but, though he expresses his dissent from their opinions, he treats them with respect, and readily grants their title to the Christian name, character, and hopes. The whole passage in which his views on this subject are contained is worth quoting, as an instance of his liberality which does him great credit, and should put the spirit of modern intolerance to the blush. It proves that this Father, whatever his faults, was no exclusionist.

* *Apol.* I., p. 64; Otto, c. 33.

† See Hagenbach, *Text-Book*, etc., First Per., § 44; Neander, *Hist. of Christian Dogmas*, i. 172, etc.

To his views of Christ's preëxistence, Trypho, who may be regarded as uttering the sentiments of the Jews of his and of all times, objects that they appear strange, and incapable of proof: "For as to your assertion, that this Christ preëxisted, being God, before the ages, and then submitted to be born and made man, and was not a man born of man, to me," he says, "it appears not only paradoxical, but foolish." Justin replies, "I know that this assertion appears paradoxical, especially to you Jews. Nevertheless, Trypho, the proof that he is the Christ of God stands, if I cannot show that he preëxisted, the Son of the Creator of the universe, (so) being God; and that he was born of the Virgin as man. But, since it is fully demonstrated that he is the Christ of God, whatever be his nature, even if I do not succeed in proving that he preëxisted, and, according to the will of the Father, submitted to be born man, of like passions with us, having flesh, in this latter respect only would it be just to say that I have erred. You would still not be authorized to deny that he is the Christ, although it should appear that he was a man, born of human parents, and it should be shown that he became Christ by election: for there are some of our race * who acknowledge that he is the

* "Some of our race," γένος, that is, as has been generally supposed, Christians. Otto, Justin's editor, supposes that the Ebionite Christians are referred to. Martini says, the "Palestinian Jewish Christians." Bishop Kaye says, "Christians as opposed to Jews." Semisch (*Justin Martyr*, ii. 137) thinks the writer had in view the "Ebionitish Jewish Christians," with whom, from the place of his early residence, he must have been well acquainted, and whom he treats with peculiar tenderness, saying simply, "I do not agree with them," while he is very severe in his condemnation of the Gnostics. As to the secondary meaning of the word translated "race," that is, as referring not to relationship by birth, or natural descent, but as designating a class of men, or men holding a certain set of opinions, or agreeing in certain habits of life, it is not without precedent in classical usage. Thus Plato has the "race of philosophers." In Latin, too, we have the "genus vatum" of Horace. Philo speaks of the "Therapeutic race."

Dr. Priestley, however, (*Hist. of Early Opinions*, b. iii. ch. 14,) thinks that "not Christians in general, but Gentile Christians in particular," are meant in this passage of Justin. The Rev. F. Huidekoper, who has given much time and thought to subjects connected with Christian antiquity, is also very confident that the writer had in view Gentile Christians, — a result to which he arrived, it seems, before being aware that Dr. Priestley had adopted the same conclusion. His reasons we give in his own words, Dr. Priestley not having argued the point at length.

"1. In determining what Justin meant by the word γένος, its customary

Christ, but affirm that he was a man, born in the ordinary way; from whom I dissent." To this, Trypho replies,

classical use is at least worth noting. This favors the idea that he meant to distinguish two races of men rather than two classes of thinkers. 2. Its signification among Christians in the second century is still more important. This may be ascertained from Tertullian's use, at the close of that century, (*Ad Nationes*, lib. i. cc. 7, 8,) of the term 'third race,' as applied to Christians, an allusion which implies on the part of his readers and others a well-settled *prior* recognition of two races, — unquestionably the Jews and the Gentiles, — without which the allusion would have been unintelligible. 3. The Dialogue professes to have taken place between Justin, a born Gentile, and Trypho, a born Jew. Between two such speakers, I should regard that interpretation as much the most probable which makes the word refer to Jews and Gentiles. 4. This interpretation is, in my opinion, greatly strengthened by the following antithesis in the context. In the beginning of the section Trypho is made to say, 'The statement that this Christ preëxisted as a divine being . . . . and that he is not a man of human parentage, appears to me not only paradoxical but foolish.' To which Justin answers, 'I know that this doctrine seems paradoxical, and especially to those of your race . . . . and indeed there are some . . . . from our race who confess him to be Christ, but deem him a man of human parentage' (*Dial.*, c. 48). In the first clause of the above antithesis, I cannot imagine that Justin should intend to contrast the Jews and the Christians, since his meaning would then have merely been, 'The doctrine of Christ's divine nature and miraculous birth is especially difficult to you before conversion to Christianity.' The only natural meaning to my mind is, (since neither Jew nor Gentile, before their conversion to Christianity, can have accepted the doctrines in question,) that, after conversion, persons of Jewish descent accepted these two views with more difficulty than did those of Gentile origin. If this be the true rendering of the first clause, then the obvious antithesis requires that we should understand by the term 'our race' in the second clause persons of Gentile descent, that is, Gentile Christians. 5. The foregoing interpretation is still further corroborated by its accordance with what we learn from Origen, namely, that *no* Jewish Christians believed the divine nature of Christ, and that his miraculous birth was less readily believed among Jewish than among Gentile Christians. See quotation in *Christ's Mission to the Under-world*, note on p. 151, from Origen on Matt. xvi. 12; *Opp.*, iii. 733 A, 734 A. 6. There is yet another consideration with which I was unwilling to complicate the argument under No. 2. It is this: Tertullian's language fairly implies that the term 'third race' was one of scorn and derision, applied to the Christians as nondescripts, neither Jews nor Gentiles. He asks, 'Have Christians a different kind of teeth, or a different opening for their jaws? . . . . We are called a third race, — dog-tailed perhaps, or shadow-footed [alluding to a fabulous Libyan race who could cover themselves by the shadow of their feet], or it may be Antipodes from below the earth . . . . Ridiculous madness . . . . But we are deemed a third race because of our [alleged] superstition, not because of our national origin as Romans or Jews.' (*Ad Nationes*, lib. i. cc. 7, 8, p. 53 A, D.) Elsewhere, Tertullian blames the Gnostics for their willingness to find a place in heaven, not only for the persecuting Jews, but for the

"Those who suppose him to have been a man, and affirm that he was anointed, and became Christ by election, appear to me to hold an opinion much more probable than that you have expressed; for we all believe that Christ will be a man born of human parents, and that, when he comes, he will be anointed by Elias." *

The late Bishop Watson agreed with Justin in the opinion that Christ's preëxistence was not necessary to the accomplishment of his mission. "His authority as a teacher is the same," he says, "whether you suppose him to have been the eternal God, or a being inferior to him and commissioned by him." Then, speaking of our redemption, he says, "I see no difficulty in admitting that the death of an angel or of a mere man might have been the price which God fixed upon." He rejects the supposition, that, on the Socinian hypothesis (that is, that Christ was a man, who had no existence before he was born of Mary), "an atonement could not have been made for the sins of mankind by the death of Jesus." So of the Arian hypothesis: "There is no reason," he says, "for thinking that the death of such a being" (that is, as the Arians suppose Christ to have been) "might not have made atonement for the sins of mankind. All depends on the appointment of God; and if, instead of the death of a superangelic or of an angelic or a human being, God had fixed on any other instrument as a medium of restoring man to immortality, it would have been

'Gentile populaces' with their circus, where they may cry out, 'How long to the [exhibition of the] third race.' (*Scorpiace*, c. 10, p. 628 B.) If Tertullian revolted at, and defended the Christians from the charge of being a distinct race, it is at least *unlikely* that the Christians should favor a use of language based on that distinction. In the absence of all evidence to that effect, I would not attribute to Justin a meaning which implied it.

"7. Besides the foregoing positive, there is one negative reason which weighs with me for supposing that Justin meant, not Christians generally, but Christians of Gentile descent. It is this. Though I find opinions — some of them entitled to respect — in favor of the former interpretation, yet I have looked fruitlessly for evidence of its probable correctness. Had such evidence existed, I think that it would have been adduced. In the apparent absence, therefore, of evidence favoring, and the certain presence of evidence against the metaphorical translation of γένος, I prefer to adopt its usual and well-settled meaning as designating a different descent, not a difference of opinions."

The length to which this note has already extended precludes further comment. We leave the subject to the judgment of the learned.

* *Dial.*, pp. 143, 145; Thirlby, pp. 283–285; Otto, cc. 48, 49.

highly improper in us to have quarrelled with the mean which his goodness had appointed, merely because we could not see how it was fitted to attain the end." *

Justin's distinction was an intelligible one. The question whether Jesus were the Messiah, the Christ of God, or not, did not involve the question of his nature. He might be pre-existent or not; yet he might be the Christ of God, exalted by him to be "a Prince and a Saviour." Justin believed him to have been preëxistent; yet he freely accords to the believers in his simple humanity the name of Christians. For them there was a Christ. Whether the Bishop of Llandaff had ever read Justin or not, we cannot say; but he was clear-headed and reverential enough to perceive that the question of Christ's nature or of his preëxistence had nothing to do with the question of his sufficiency as a Saviour, but all depended on God's appointment. Whatever instrument God chose and appointed, must, from the very fact that he had so chosen and appointed it, be adequate to the purpose for which it was designed; and it would be arrogant in man to question its sufficiency. So the bishop reasoned; and so Justin Martyr could say, that, admitting his inability to prove Christ's preëxistence, it did not follow that he was not the Christ of God. That fact he considered as established by irrefragable proofs; and that he regarded as the all-important and only essential fact.

With regard to the great points, which, since the days of Augustine, have divided the Christian world, usually called the Calvinistic points, Justin held moderate and rational views. He nowhere states his opinion of the precise effect of Adam's fall, though he is decidedly opposed to the doctrines of hereditary depravity, original sin, and the inability of man to do the will of God, as explained in later times. He evidently knew nothing of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity.† He is a firm advocate for human freedom, and the capacity of man for virtue or vice. Man has power, he maintains, to choose the good and refuse the evil, — power to "do well." He earnestly combats the doctrine of destiny or fate.

* Charges delivered in 1784 and 1795.

† "Original sin and the imputation of Adam's guilt," says Hagenbach, "are conceptions foreign to him." — *Text-Book*, etc., First Per., § 63.

All will be rewarded or punished, he says, according to their merits. If character and actions were fixed, he argues, there could be no such thing as virtue and vice; for these suppose freedom, or the ability to choose and follow the one and avoid the other. Men, he adds, would not be proper subjects of reward and punishment, if they were good and evil by birth, not by choice; for no one is accountable for the character he brings into the world with him.* This, certainly, does not look like the doctrine of predestination; and we are authorized to assert, with Bishop Kaye, that, "if Justin held the doctrine of predestination at all, it must have been in the Arminian sense."

Of the effects of Christ's death, and of justification, he usually speaks in general and figurative terms, much resembling those which occur in the sacred writings, and capable of a similar construction. He cannot, with any propriety, be adduced as an advocate for the modern popular doctrine of the atonement.

* *Apol.* I., cc. 28, 43; *Apol.* II., c. 7; *Dial.*, c. 88, Otto.

CHAPTER VII.

JUSTIN'S ACCOUNT OF THE CHRISTIAN RITES AS ADMINISTERED IN HIS DAY. — BAPTISM. — THE LORD'S SUPPER. — SUNDAY WORSHIP. — CALUMNIES OF THE JEWS. — THE MEMORY OF JUSTIN.

WITH the opinions of Justin we have now done: but there are some facts he has preserved, relating to Christian worship and rites, which every one will desire to know; as he is the earliest witness we possess, after the time of the Apostles, from whom we can learn anything authentic on the subject. He describes Baptism and the Supper as administered in his day, and the Sunday worship of Christians, with a good degree of minuteness. This, we must recollect, was just about a century after Christ had left the earth. One would like to look in upon the religious assemblies of Christians as they then existed, could the past, by any possibility, be made to stand before us. Justin speaks not from report of what Christians did in those days: he tells us what passed beneath his own eye. His account shows that the simplicity of Scripture forms was yet in a great measure, though not in all respects, retained. To prevent misconception and error, he says that he shall "explain in what manner, being renovated through Christ, we dedicate ourselves to God. As many," he continues, "as believe and accept for true those things which are taught by us, and profess their determination to live conformably to them, are required, by fasting and prayer, to seek of God the remission of their former sins, we fasting and praying with them. They are then led to a place where there is water, and are there regenerated in the same manner as we were regenerated: for they are laved in water, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of all; and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. For Christ," he adds, "has said, that, except ye be regenerated, ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven."* This regeneration, as we have seen,

* *Apol.* I., p. 79; Otto, c. 61.

Justin supposes takes place at baptism. He states the necessity of it: which is, not that men inherit a corrupt nature from Adam; "but since," he says, "we are born without our knowledge and consent, and (as Heathen) educated in corrupt morals and customs, therefore, in order that we may not remain children of necessity and ignorance, but may become children of choice and of knowledge, and obtain by water the remission of sins before committed, the name of the Father and Lord of all is pronounced over him who wishes to be regenerated, and has repented of his transgressions." * This washing, or baptism, Justin says, was also called "illumination," on account of the illuminating power of Christ's doctrines; and the "Holy Spirit" was that "which foretold all things relating to Jesus." Justin's formula of baptism was virtually, and as he understood it, "in the name of the one God and Father of all; and of the Son, his instrument, and the revealer of his will to man; and of the prophetic Spirit, which foretold his coming," — a Trinity which no old-fashioned Unitarian would feel any hesitation in acknowledging. Regeneration is explained by what, as above expressed, we become by "choice and knowledge," — repentant, purified, and consecrated in heart and life to God.

Having received baptism, the person was considered as entitled, by virtue of it, to all the privileges of a follower of Christ; and immediately participated in the rite of the Supper, there being at that time no distinction between the church and the congregation of believers. On the subject of the Supper, the most exact description which has been transmitted to us by Christian antiquity is that of Justin. "After we have thus laved the consenting believer," he tells us, "we take him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, there to offer up earnest prayers in common for ourselves and for him who has been enlightened (or baptized), and for all others everywhere; that, having learned the truth, we may be deemed worthy to be found living in good works and keeping the commandments, that so we may obtain eternal salvation. Prayer ended, we salute each other with a kiss. Bread and a cup of water and wine are then

* *Apol.* I., p. 80; Otto, c. 61.

brought to him who presides over the brethren; and he, taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and offers up many thanks that we are counted worthy to receive these gifts. Prayers and thanksgivings being ended, all the people present say amen. . . . Those we call deacons then distribute the bread and wine and water, — over which thanks have been offered, — to be partaken of by each of those present; and carry a portion to the absent."*

Justin adds, "We do not receive these as common food and drink"; and proceeds to speak of them as the flesh and blood of Jesus, in terms which the Catholics regard as teaching the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but to which the Lutheran and Reformed churches appeal with equal confidence as clearly containing the elements of their faith on the subject. Justin is certainly a little obscure and mystical. He quotes, from the "Memoirs by the Apostles," called, he says, "Gospels," the expressions, "This is my body," — "This is my blood"; but his language is too indefinite to authorize us to say that he understood them in any other than a metaphorical sense, — a sense which the general strain of his writings would lead us to suppose that he attributed to them. The language of the Scriptures on this subject is strongly figurative. We believe that Justin meant to be understood as speaking in a similar figurative style. In his Dialogue with Trypho, he speaks of the elements of bread and wine as simply commemorative.† He concludes by saying, that, through the agency of wicked demons, the same elements were used (by anticipation) in the ceremony of initiation into the mysteries of Mithras, in imitation of the Eucharist, as the Christian rite, he tells us, was called.

It is worthy of observation, that, in the above account, the person who administers the Eucharist is called simply the president of the brethren. No mention is made of bishops, priests, or presbyters, in this or in any other part of Justin's writings. Further: nothing is said of the consecration of the elements, in the technical sense in which the term is used by some Protestant churches. We are told only that the presi-

* *Apol.* I., pp. 82, 83; Otto, cc. 65, 66. † *Dial.*, c. 70, Otto.

dent of the brethren offered thanks over the bread and wine, and that they were then distributed. Nothing is said of the Supper, as, at this time, connected with a common meal, according to the earlier practice; and prayers would seem to have been uttered without the use of forms. Nor is anything said of the position of the recipients. The term "altar" does not occur; and Jurieu asserts that it is not found in the acknowledged remains of any writer of the second century.*

Justin proceeds to give an account of the services of Sunday; not the "Sabbath," which was not then the Christian designation of the day, though the term was used figuratively to express a rest, or ceasing from iniquity, in which sense Christians were bound to keep a perpetual sabbath; the only one, Justin tells Trypho, which is acceptable to God.† "On the day called the day of the Sun," he says, "all, whether in town or country, assemble in one place; and the Memoirs by the Apostles, or Writings of the Prophets, are read as time permits. When the reader has finished, the person presiding instructs the people in an address, and exhorts them to imitate the excellent things they have heard. We then all rise together, and pray; after which, as before related, bread and wine and water are brought" for the Eucharist; which, it appears, was administered every Lord's Day. Justin here repeats the account already given of the rite, very nearly in the same words. He adds, that a collection was then taken, to which they who were wealthy, and chose, contributed according to their ability and disposition; and "what is collected," he continues, "is deposited with the president, who assists with it orphans and widows, and those who, in consequence of illness or any other cause, are in want; those who are in bonds, and strangers sojourning among us; and, in a word, takes care of all who have need.‡

The reasons Justin assigns for assembling on Sunday are, simply, that this was the "first day, on which God, having wrought a change in darkness and matter, made the world; that, on the same day, Jesus Christ, our Saviour, rose from the dead; for he was crucified the day before that of Saturn; and

* Pastoral Letters, vi. † *Dial.*, c. 12, Otto.
‡ *Apol.* I., c. 67, Otto.

the day after, which is the day of the Sun, he appeared again to his disciples.*

These are matters of history, and, coming as they do from a contemporary writer, are of great value. From Justin we gather also various notices of the character and condition of Christians of his day, and of their persecutors, — all creditable to the disciples of the cross. The worst enemies of the Christians were the Jews, more implacable than the Heathen. They sent persons, as Justin tells us, into all parts of the earth, to denounce them as an atheistic and lawless sect;† they cursed them in their synagogues;‡ and the people were solemnly charged to hold no intercourse with them, particularly to listen to no exposition or defence of their opinions.§ To the calumnies of the Jews, industriously propagated over all parts of the civilized world, Justin attributes the odium to which Christians were subjected on account of their supposed profligacy; and there can be little doubt that they were the authors of the foul slander. Certainly it could have originated only in the bitterest hatred; and this hatred, as thorough as ever rankled in the human breast, they appear, according to the testimony, not of Justin only, but of Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, and others, to have cherished.

Justin was not the first martyr, but he was the first great writer and apologist for Christianity, whose name we meet on the roll of Christian martyrology. We have given the few incidents which can be gathered from the storehouse of antiquity respecting the life and death of this old witness of the faith. His intellectual traits, and his opinions on various subjects of theology, we learn from his works. He was not, as we have seen, an exact or polished writer; he was not critical; he had not a logical intellect; he wrote in a harsh, rambling, and somewhat impulsive style. He was not wholly free from credulity; indeed, had a large measure of it; and many of his opinions will now be pronounced extravagant and absurd. But so, in reality, will many of those entertained at the present day appear to a future age. Yet, whatever his defects, his

* *Apol.* I., c. 67, Otto. † *Dial.*, pp. 117, 202; Otto, cc. 17, 108.
‡ *Dial.*, cc. 16, 47, 93, 96, Otto. [See Otto on c. 16, note 9. — Ed.]
§ *Dial.*, cc. 88, 112, Otto.

merits were very great. We honor his courage, his sincerity, his ardent thirst for truth, his moral elevation, his boldness in defending the cause of Christ, and pleading for the rights of common humanity before thrones, — looking death calmly in the face. In such men, we can overlook intellectual defects, and pardon some errors of opinion and some absurd fancies. These are thrown into the shade by their great qualities. It may be cause of gratitude to any of us, if, through God's help, we are enabled to walk as firmly on the way of duty, and be as faithful to our convictions, as was this philosopher and martyr of the elder days of the church.

NOTE.

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

QUESTION OF ITS GENUINENESS AND DATE. — ITS THEOLOGY. — SUPREMACY OF THE FATHER. — MISSION OF THE SON. — IMPLANTED OR INSOWN LOGOS. — AUTHORSHIP AND DOCTRINE OF THE CONCLUDING PORTION OF THE EPISTLE.

WE will add in a note a few words on the Epistle to Diognetus, which, though generally found among the collected works of Justin, is, as before stated, of uncertain authorship. Semisch * and Otto † give at some length the arguments and authorities for and against the genuineness of the Epistle, which was first published by Henry Stephens, in 1592. Several among the older critics, and some in more recent times, place it among the genuine works of the Martyr. But learned authorities greatly preponderate on the other side; they deny its genuineness. So Neander and Semisch, the latter of whom maintains that the spuriousness of the piece may be "determined to a degree of certainty that is seldom attainable in critical inquiries." Otto is undecided, but inserts the Epistle along with other pieces of doubtful or unknown authorship, in his edition of the works of Justin. Its general style and cast of thought, we think, clearly show that it is not Justin's, though probably written, or the main body of it at least, in his age. Tillemont and several others, however, assign to it an earlier date. Neander refers it to the "early part of the second century."

It is, in its more practical parts, at least, a much admired production, of great value and interest as presenting a vivid picture of Christian life at the period at which it was written. Neander places it among the "finest remains of Christian antiquity." Bunsen strongly commends it. "It is," says he, "indisputably, after Scripture, the finest monument we know of sound Christian feeling, noble courage, and manly eloquence." He is very confident that it was written, the conclusion, as we shall presently see, excepted, by Marcion, before he separated from the Church of Rome, that is, in the year 135, and that Diognetus was the early tutor of Marcus Aurelius. All this, however, is mere hypothesis. Bunsen adduces no external testimony in favor of any part of the statement; but says, that "there is nothing in the Epistle to Diognetus which might not have been written by Marcion, but there is much in it which, as far as history goes,

* *Justin Martyr*, i. 193–207.

† *De Just. Mart. Scriptis et Doctrina*, pp. 53–60.

nobody could have written except young Marcion, or his unknown foster-brother in soul."* This is very unsatisfactory.

We will give one or two extracts from the work, which will show that the writer, whoever he was, taught the current doctrine of the supremacy of the Father, and was no Athanasian. We use Otto's text, second edition, 1849.

"But the truly Omnipotent God, the Creator of all things, and invisible, himself implanted from heaven and fixed in the hearts of men the truth and the holy and incomprehensible Logos; not, as one might suppose, sending to men any servant, either angel or chief ruler, or any one of those who direct the affairs of earth, or who minister in heaven, but the artificer and maker of the universe himself; by whom he [God] created the heavens; by whom he enclosed the sea within its bounds," etc. "Him he sent to them. Was it, as one might think, for the purpose of tyranny, or to produce fear and consternation? No, indeed. But in mercy, in lenity; as a king, sending his royal Son, he sent him; sent him as God;† sent him as unto men; sent him to save, to persuade, not to force, for violence is not of God; sent him to call, not to persecute; sent him in love, not for judgment."‡

Here is no Trinitarianism and no Augustinianism. The supremacy of the Father, and subordination of the Son, are asserted as strongly as they well can be; and neither here, nor in any other part of the Epistle, is there the remotest allusion to the Holy Spirit. God appears full of love and compassion, not as a wrathful judge. His benevolence, mercy, and love are brought out in prominent relief in the next chapter, the eighth. "He always was," says the writer, "and is and shall be benignant and good, wrathless and true, and alone is good." The phrase, "he (God) took our sins," which occurs in the ninth chapter, and savors strongly of Patripassianism, is probably, as Sylburg and Otto suppose, a gloss, which crept into the text from the margin, where it might have been placed as a citation from Isaiah liii. 4, 11. If not, the writer contradicts himself, for in the same sentence he says, that "he (God) gave his Son to be a ransom for us." It was the Son, not the Father, who bore our sins.

The writer's doctrine of the "insown, or implanted Logos," resembles that of Justin Martyr. This is taught in the passage first quoted. Again, "God loved men, on account of whom he made the world, to whom he subjected all things in the earth; to whom he gave reason (Logos), to whom understanding; whom alone he permitted to look upward to him;

* *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 170–173. Bunsen (pp. 174–181) gives a translation of the Epistle, and in another part of his work (vol. v.), *Analecta Ante-Nicæna* (i. 103–121), the original Greek.

† "That is, one who by his nature is good and benignant, and a lover of men." — Otto's note. [Otto refers for illustration to c. 10 of this Epistle, where we read, "He who, by bestowing upon the needy the things which he has received from God, *becomes a God* to those who receive them, *θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων*, is an imitator of God." — ED.]

‡ Cap. 7.

whom he formed in his own image; to whom he sent his only-begotten Son; to whom he promised the kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who love him."

This language is taken from the tenth chapter. Two chapters, called by Semisch and Otto an "Appendix," follow, which there is ground for concluding, partly from the evidence of manuscripts and partly from internal evidence, are supposititious.* There is in them little which is to our present purpose. In the eleventh chapter we hear of the Logos "manifested," and of the same as "sent . . . . . preached by the Apostles, believed in by the Gentiles." Then follows a somewhat obscure passage, in which this Logos is spoken of as "from the beginning," — who, it is added, "appeared as new and is found to be old, and who, ever young, is begotten in the hearts of the sanctified." It is the Logos "that was always" (as an attribute), but "to-day is accounted a Son," in reference, it would seem, to Psalm ii. 7: "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee."

There is nothing in this language, which somewhat resembles that of Clement of Alexandria, which is not readily explained on Justin's theory of God's indwelling Logos or reason. Nothing is said of the eternal generation of the Son; that doctrine is excluded by the terms employed.† There is nothing in the language which conflicts with the supremacy of the Father, or the derived nature of the Son. The supremacy of the Father, Infinite, Omnipotent, One, the Original of all things, whose minister the Logos, or Son was, sent by him, is preserved intact; and the Holy Spirit, as before observed, is not so much as alluded to, we think, in the whole letter.

* See Semisch's note, i. 195, 196. "That part of the Epistle," says he, "is a spurious addition not belonging to the original writer." It "betrays a much later date than the second century." See also Otto's note at the commencement of the eleventh chapter. Bunsen argues at some length that this fragment appended, in the manuscript, to the Epistle to Diognetus, constituted no part of the original Epistle, but formed the missing conclusion of the work of Hippolytus, — a "Refutation of all Heresies." "We want," he says, "an end to our great work in ten books, a winding up worthy of the grand subject. . . . . Now we find such a concluding fragment, which wants a beginning and an author. Whether we consider its contents, or its style, if it is not, it might very well be, the close of our work." This appears to us to be rather loose reasoning. — *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 415–417, and v. 119 (*Analecta*, vol. i.). Others find "differences of style between the Epistle and the Appendix." The latter probably had an Alexandrian origin, as late, at least, as the middle of the third century, perhaps later.

† It is not difficult to speak of the eternity of the divine Wisdom or Reason — Logos. This is a very different thing from saying that the Son was eternal, which was not a doctrine of this age. The personality of the Son, as a self-subsisting being, was not till sometime afterwards represented as eternal. The Son was not said to be eternal except as an attribute, that is, the Reason, Wisdom, Logos of God.

FATHERS SUBSEQUENT TO JUSTIN MARTYR, AND BEFORE THE TIME OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

CHAPTER I.

TATIAN THE SYRIAN. — HIS HISTORY. — THE SON A HYPOSTATIZED ATTRIBUTE. — HAD A BEGINNING. — NUMERICALLY DISTINGUISHED FROM THE FATHER, AND SUBORDINATE. — THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH. — THE SON ORIGINALLY THE LOGOS, OR REASON OF GOD. — BEGOTTEN IN TIME. — THE INSTRUMENT OF THE FATHER IN THE CREATION. — THE FATHER ALONE AN OBJECT OF SUPREME WORSHIP. — THE TERM TRINITY FIRST USED. — THE SPIRIT CONFOUNDED WITH THE LOGOS. — ATHENAGORAS PRESERVES THE SUPREMACY OF THE FATHER. — HOW HE SPEAKS OF THE LOGOS. — THE SPIRIT AN INFLUENCE.

THE Fathers who lived between the time of Justin Martyr and that of Clement of Alexandria, were no better Trinitarians than Justin himself; that is, they believed in no undivided, coequal Three, but taught a doctrine wholly irreconcilable with this belief. A rapid glance at the writings of the principal of these Fathers will make this plain.

TATIAN THE SYRIAN.

First comes Tatian. Born in the "land of the Assyrians," as he himself informs us, Tatian was educated in the Greek religion and philosophy, and was by profession a sophist, or teacher of rhetoric, and perhaps also of philosophy. He had no mean knowledge of Greek literature. He travelled over many countries, engaging, it would seem, in different pursuits, and finally came to Rome. In his opinions he appears to have been a Platonist, but, like many others at that period, he lost his reverence for philosophy, which did not satisfy his

higher aspirations. The Pagan religion, too, with its impurities, filled his mind with disgust. At this time the writings of the Old Testament fell into his hands, and his conversion to Christianity followed soon after. Whether this event took place before or after his acquaintance with Justin Martyr commenced, is not certain. At all events, he was his hearer and disciple. At a subsequent period, probably not till after the death of Justin, he became the founder of an ascetic and heretical sect. While at Rome, where he was at the time of Justin's martyrdom, he appears to have remained in fellowship with the Church there. He afterwards returned to the East. Of his subsequent history little is known. Of the time and place of his death we have no information. His writings were numerous. Eusebius says that he "left many monuments of himself in his works," — left a "great number of books," —* and Jerome tells us that he wrote a countless multitude of volumes.† We still possess his "Oration against the Greeks." He flourished about the year 170.

In terms similar to those employed by Justin, Tatian describes God alone as without beginning, invisible, ineffable, the original cause of all things, visible and invisible, — language confined by the early Christian writers to the Father, and never applied to the Son. The following language occurs in his "Oration against the Greeks." Speaking of the beginning in relation to God, he says: —

"This beginning was the rational power (Logos, reason as it existed in God). The Lord of all, being himself the essence (*or* principle) of all things, was, in relation to things not yet created, alone. Now inasmuch as he is the original of all power, and the principle (*or* cause) of all things visible and invisible, all things were with him. With him by virtue of his rational power was also the Logos itself, which was in him. By his simple volition the Logos leaped out of him, not as an empty voice, but was the first begotten work of the Father. This Logos was the beginning of the world, and was begotten by communication, not by abscission. . . . For the Logos, proceeding from the power of the Father, did not leave the Father without Logos (reason)."‡

* *Hist.*, iv. 16, 29. † *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 29. ‡ Cap. 5.

The idea or theory is the same as Justin's. Like him it is evident that Tatian regarded the Son as originally and from eternity in and with God, not as a real being or person, but only as an attribute, or by virtue of his power of begetting him; in him and with him, only as all things created were; that is, not as the actual, but as the possible. This, indeed, he asserts almost in so many words. He speaks of the Son as having a beginning, that is, considered as a real subsistence or person; and he evidently regarded him, after his production, as a being distinct from the Father, and subordinate to him. The Son was produced by the Father, he tells us, as one torch is lighted from another, the lighted torch not lessening that from which it is lighted; or as speech is produced in us from the faculty of speech within, that faculty remaining undiminished, — illustrations which were common with the Fathers, and imply a numerical distinction of being and essence. This distinction is expressly asserted by Justin, Tatian's master, who contends, in words as plain and unequivocal as language affords, that the Father and Son are two in number; two beings: the one visible, the other invisible; the one remaining fixed in his place, the other capable of motion from place to place; and Tatian evidently trod in his steps.

Theophilus of Antioch.

Another writer of some repute at this time was Theophilus, who became Bishop of Antioch, the chief seat of Christianity in the East, in the year 169. He was a convert from heathenism, having been won over to Christianity, as he himself informs us, by reading the ancient books of the Jews. He wrote several works mentioned by Jerome, which are lost. But we have his three books to Autolycus, his friend, yet a heathen, whom he was desirous to bring over to Christianity. A contemporary with Tatian, he taught the same doctrine. He speaks of God as Supreme, the "true and only God," without beginning, invisible, unbegotten, and as such immutable; and of the Son as inferior, having as a real being or

person a beginning, visible, begotten, and therefore, according to his philosophy, not possessing the attribute of immutability, which belonged only to the unbegotten One.*

Here is his account of the generation of the Son. "God," he says, "having the Logos within himself (the Logos in him being what Reason is in man), begat him before all things. This Logos was his helper in all the works brought into existence by him, and through him [as his minister] he made all things. . . . He being the Spirit of God and the beginning, the Wisdom and Power of the Most High, inspired the prophets. The prophets existed not when the world was made, but the Wisdom of God, which was in him and of him, and his holy Logos, were always present with him.† He spoke, as the writer supposed, through Solomon (Proverbs viii. 22, etc.). Again, "God the Father of all things," he says, "cannot be confined to space, or be found in place." So he refers the theophanies in the Old Testament to the Logos or Son. It was he who walked in Paradise; it was his voice which Adam heard. "Of him, before the creation, God took counsel, he being his own reason, or wisdom. And when he willed to create what he had designed, he begot this Logos, the emitted first-born of every creature, not emptying himself of Logos (Reason), but begetting it, and always holding converse with his own Logos (Reason)."‡

Thus the uttered or begotten Logos or Reason of God became a real person, having a proper subsistence in himself, without diminishing, or taking from, God's understanding, Logos or Reason. This distinction between the internal and the uttered or begotten Logos, more marked in Theophilus, in language, at least, than in those who preceded him, pervades all the writings of subsequent Fathers.

Again, Theophilus contends expressly that "the true God," by whom he always understands the Father, is alone to be worshipped.§ But it is unnecessary to adduce further evidence of his views of the Son, whom he clearly regarded as begotten or produced from the reason of the Father, a little before the creation of the world; thus becoming a distinct

* *Ad Autol.*, lib. i. cc. 4–6.
† *Ibid.*, lib. ii. c. 10.
‡ *Ibid.*, lib. ii. c. 22.
§ *Ibid.*, lib. i. c. 11.

being, subject to the will of the Father, and not entitled to equal adoration.*

Theophilus was the first Christian writer who used the term "Trias," Trinity, in reference to the Deity; but it is deserving of remark, that, to adopt the modern phraseology, the three "distinctions," or three "somewhats," designated by it, are, according to him, "God, his Logos, and his Wisdom"; † not, however, asserting their equality, which is opposed to his plainest teachings. Then there may be a Trinity of attributes as well as of persons. Names signify little. It is the ideas attached to them which we want, — what they stand for. By wisdom, Theophilus may mean the Spirit; though, in the theology of the Fathers, it was generally considered as synonymous with the Logos, or Word. It was often, however, confounded with the Spirit.‡ Theophilus adds, "and in the fourth place is man."

* When Theophilus speaks of God as consulting his Logos, or Wisdom, before the generation of the Son, he evidently uses a figurative mode of expression. So a man is said to take counsel of his understanding or of his affections; he consults his sense of duty or his inclination; but no one supposes this phraseology to imply that the understanding or affections or conscience are real beings, persons. Such expressions are familiar in all languages; and they serve to explain what is meant by the early Fathers, when they speak of God as consulting his Logos, Reason, or Wisdom, before the event called by them the generation of the Son, — and perhaps even after, as in one of the above quotations which appears somewhat obscure (lib. ii. c. 22). The phraseology is not of a nature to create the least embarrassment. Every school-boy knows better than to construe it as implying an actual consultation between real beings.

† *Ad Autol.*, lib. ii. c. 15.

‡ The Fathers often confounded the Spirit with the Logos, adhering to the old Jewish phraseology, but attributing to it an entirely new sense. Thus, in Ps. xxxiii. 6, — "By the *word* of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them, by the *breath* of his mouth," or *spirit*, — the two terms, *word* and *spirit*, are used to express the same thing; that is, a divine operation. There is no allusion whatever to persons or separate agents, but only to a mode of divine agency. Such was the Jewish sense of the terms; and in this sense they were synonymous. When the Platonizing Fathers had affixed a new sense to the term "Logos," or "Word," considering it as designating a real person, they still for a time retained former Jewish modes of expression, though utterly at variance with their system. Thus they speak indiscriminately of the Spirit and Logos as inspiring the prophets; and of the Spirit, or Power of God, or Logos, as overshadowing Mary. According to the sense the Jews attributed to those terms, there was no inconsistency in this use of them; the breath, spirit, power, or word of the Lord, being only

ATHENAGORAS.

Athenagoras, a learned Athenian, also flourished during the latter part of the second century. That he was ever, as has been asserted, connected with the celebrated Catechetical School at Alexandria, is not probable. He was an Athenian by birth, but of his personal history nothing is known. Neither Eusebius nor Jerome mentions his name. He wrote an Apology for Christians in the time of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus, and was also the author of a treatise on the Resurrection, both of which are preserved. He was equally careful, with the writers above quoted, to preserve the supremacy of the Father, and seems to have entertained similar views of the nature and rank of the Son.

"The Son of God," he says, "is the Logos (Reason) of the Father in idea and operation." "Through it all things were made." "The Son of God is the understanding and reason of the Father." "God from the beginning being eternal reason, had in himself the Logos (Reason), being always rational."* The attribute reason, or wisdom, was eternal, but not the Son as a personal being. Of him it could be said, "The Lord created me the beginning of his ways to his works." Athenagoras, with the other Fathers, made a dis-

different modes of expressing a divine influence, or act of power. But when the Logos, or Word, came to be considered a person or being, distinct from the Father and Spirit, whether the last was regarded as a person or an influence, the phraseology became absurd. The Fathers, however, continued to use it occasionally, from the effect of habit. The history of the phraseology in question; the signification it bore in the writings of the Jews; its inconsistency with the doctrine of the Fathers, though from custom they continued to employ it, — afford to our minds conclusive evidence, had we no other, that they were innovators. The doctrine of the Trinity was, as yet, very imperfectly formed. As it became further advanced, the phraseology alluded to was gradually dropped.

Commenting on the above quoted passage of Theophilus, Hagenbach says, "Here we have indeed the word τριὰς, but not in the ecclesiastical sense of the term Trinity; for as ἄνθρωπος is mentioned as the fourth term, it is evident that the τριὰς cannot be taken here as a perfect whole, consisting of three joined in one; besides, the term σοφία is used instead of τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον." — *Text-Book*, First Period, § 45.

* *Legat.*, c. 10. See also c. 16.

tinction. The supremacy of the Father, who was invisible, impassible, and who, himself "unbegotten and eternal," created all things by his Logos, or Reason,* was not infringed.

The Holy Spirit Athenagoras describes as something flowing out from God, as rays flow from the sun, and are re-absorbed, that is, not a person, but an influence.†

* It has been made a question, indeed, whether Athenagoras believed that the Divine Logos, or Reason, became permanently hypostatized in the Son; or in speaking of the creation used the word in the older Platonic sense, as meaning the reason, power, or wisdom of God in action. He says in one place, "God is in himself all things, — light unapproachable, the perfect world, spirit, power, logos." Justin Martyr, however, could have used the same language, and we think, some obscure expressions which look the other way notwithstanding, that Athenagoras agreed with him and with the early Fathers generally, in assigning separate personality, or self-subsistence to the Son as the begotten Logos, Reason of the Father. See Martini, *Versuch*, etc., p. 55.

† Τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τοῖς ἐκφωνοῦσι προφητικῶς ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀπόῤῥοιαν εἶναί φαμεν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀποῤῥέον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου. — *Legat.*, c. 10; comp. c. 24.

CHAPTER II.

IRENÆUS. — HIS HISTORY AND WRITINGS. — THE SON A SEPARATE BEING FROM THE FATHER, AND SUBORDINATE. — QUOTATIONS. — CHRIST SUFFERED IN HIS WHOLE NATURE. — THE LOGOS SUPPLIED THE PLACE OF THE RATIONAL SOUL IN JESUS CHRIST. — TERTULLIAN. — CHARACTER AND WRITINGS. — MAKES THE FATHER AND SON TWO BEINGS. — THE SON INFERIOR. — NOT ETERNAL. — TERTULLIAN'S CREEDS. — OMISSION OF THE SPIRIT. — THE FATHER MORE ANCIENT, NOBLER, AND MORE POWERFUL THAN THE SON. — THE UNLEARNED CHRISTIANS. — THEIR HORROR OF THE ŒCONOMY, OR TRINITY. — HOW TERTULLIAN SAVES THE UNITY. — THE CATACOMBS.

IRENÆUS.

WE pass to Irenæus. He is supposed to have been a native of Smyrna, or at least, of some part of Lesser Asia. He was thus a Greek by birth. In his youth, as he informs us in a letter to Florinus, a portion of which has been preserved by Eusebius,* he was well acquainted with the venerable Polycarp. Jerome calls him a man of the apostolic times, and says that he was a disciple of Papias, who was a hearer of John the Evangelist.† When and under what circumstances he went to Gaul, history does not inform us. We only know that he became Bishop of Lyons, in that province, after the martyrdom of Pothinus, A. D. 177. He survived till very late in the second century, and possibly till after the commencement of the third. He wrote a work, in five books, against the Gnostic heretics, the original of which, with the exception of a considerable part of the first and some fragments of other books, is lost, the remainder being preserved only in an old and barbarous Latin translation.

Irenæus has left on record a summary or summaries of the faith of Christians of his day, in language, however, which will not satisfy the demands of a later orthodoxy.‡ With the

* *Hist.*, v. 20. † *Epist.* 29, ad Theod.

‡ *Contra Hær.*, lib. i. c. 10, § 1. See also lib. iv. c. 33, § 7, ed. Migne. Par 1857.

preceding Fathers already named, he agreed in assigning to the Son a separate existence, making him inferior to the Father; but the mode of his generation he would not discuss, deeming it inexplicable. In his antagonism to the Gnostic doctrine of emanations, he was led to connect with the Son the terms "always" and "eternal"; it is difficult to define in what sense. He wants clearness, and his notions seem not to have been well defined even to himself. "Who," he asks, with the prophet, "can declare his generation? No one. No one knows it; not Valentinus, not Marcion, neither Saturninus, nor Basilides, nor angels, nor archangels, nor princes, nor powers, none but the Father who begat, and the Son who was begotten." He is very careful, however, on all occasions to distinguish the Son from the "One true and only God," who is "supreme over all, and besides whom there is no other." Take two or three passages as specimens. "The Father is above all, and is himself the head of Christ." * "John preached one God supreme over all, and one only-begotten Son Jesus Christ." † "The Church dispersed throughout all the world has received from the Apostles and their disciples this belief — in one God the Father, supreme over all . . . . and in one Jesus Christ . . . . and in the Holy Spirit, that through the prophets preached the dispensations," etc. ‡ We could fill pages with similar passages. No language could more clearly and positively assert the supremacy of the Father.

The Father sends, the Son is sent; the Father commands, the Son executes, ministering to his will. The Father grants, the Son receives power and dominion. The Father *gives* him the "heritage of the nations," and "subjects all his enemies to him." § These and similar expressions which form his current phraseology, — which are interwoven, in fact, with the texture of his whole work against heresies, — could not have been employed by one who conceived of the Son as numerically the same being with the Father, or as in any sense his equal.

Again: he quotes the words of the Saviour (Mark xiii. 32):

* *Contra Hær.*, lib. v. c. 18, § 2.

† *Ibid.*, lib. i. c. 9, § 2.

‡ *Ibid.*, lib. i. c. 10, § 1.

§ See, among other passages, *Ibid.*, i. 22, § 1; iii. 6, § 1; iii. 8, § 3; iv. 6, § 7; iv. 38, § 3.

"But of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father," without any attempt to explain them away, or evade the obvious inference. He admits their truth in the simplest and broadest sense, and thence adduces an argument for humility. "If the Son," says he, "was not ashamed to refer the knowledge of that day to the Father, neither should we be ashamed to reserve the solution of difficult questions to God."* He goes further. Far from denying the inference to be drawn from the expression referred to, he expressly admits it. Our Saviour, he observes, used this expression that "we might learn from him that the Father is above all; for 'the Father,' he says, 'is greater than I.'"† The doctrine of two natures, by the help of which modern Trinitarians attempt to evade the force of this and similar passages, was not as yet invented.

It was the doctrine of the apostolic age, and of primitive antiquity generally, that Jesus Christ suffered in his whole nature. Such certainly was the opinion of Irenæus, if we can credit his own language. He believed that Jesus Christ suffered in his superior as well as in his inferior nature. There were some sects of the Gnostics, especially the followers of Cerinthus, who maintained that a certain exalted intelligence called Christ descended on Jesus at his baptism, and left him and ascended at his crucifixion. This opinion Irenæus strenuously combats, in a formal argument of some length. Paul, he says, knew no Christ but him who suffered. If there was a Christ who left Jesus before the crucifixion, then there were two Christs. The Apostle knew but one. Christ, we are told, "suffered for us." According to the doctrine referred to, this is not true. Again, Christ predicted that he should suffer. It "behoved him to suffer," he says. And he proposed himself as an example to his disciples. "If any man will come after me," he says, "let him take up his cross and follow me." Why, asks Irenæus, this exhortation, if Christ himself did not suffer?

Besides all this and much more in the same strain,‡ we have the express assertion of Irenæus, that Jesus Christ suf-

* *Contra Hær.*, lib. ii. c. 28, § 6. † *Ibid.*, lib. ii. c. 28, § 8.
‡ *Ibid.*, lib. iii. cc. 16, 18.

fered in his superior nature. "Jesus," he says, "who suffered for us and dwelt among us, is the Logos of God." * Again, the "Logos of God became flesh and suffered."† Again, the "Word of God when on the cross prayed for his persecutors and murderers."‡ From the whole we may infer that he supposed Christ to have suffered in his most exalted nature.§ It is hence quite obvious that he did not regard him as one in essence with God.

Like the old Fathers generally, before the time of Origen, Irenæus did not attribute to the Saviour a rational human soul, but supposed that the Logos supplied the place of it.‖

TERTULLIAN.

Hitherto we have been occupied with Greek writers. We must now turn to the Latin Church, of which the great representative man of the period is Tertullian. Tertullian was an African by birth, and, according to Jerome,¶ a native of Carthage, and son of a Proconsular centurion. He held the rank of Presbyter, but whether at Carthage or Rome, has been disputed. If Jerome's account be correct, that the envy and ill

* *Contra Hær.*, lib. i. c. 9, § 8. † *Ibid.*, i. c. 10, § 3. ‡ *Ibid.*, iii. c. 18, § 5.

§ Yet with strange inconsistency he speaks in one passage (lib. iii. c. 19, § 3) of the Logos as quiescent during the crucifixion. [Here, however, the old Latin version of Irenæus differs somewhat from the Greek as preserved by Theodoret, who, as has been suggested, may have altered the expressions to conform them to his own opinions. See Stieren's note, in his edition of Irenæus, and Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, 3d edit., p. 112, note. — ED.]

‖ Hagenbach (*Text-Book*, etc., First Period, § 66) refers to Duncker as "endeavoring to make it probable . . . that Irenæus taught the perfect humanity of Christ as regards the body, soul, and spirit." On many points the Fathers are greatly deficient in precision, both of thought and expression. But that before the time of Origen, they generally, Irenæus not excepted, used language which, according to any reasonable construction, teaches that the human rational soul was wanting in Christ, appears to us as undeniable. Justin, as we have seen, so taught expressly. Hagenbach also refers to Neander. But Neander (*Hist. Christ. Dogm.*, p. 197, Bohn) expresses himself with hesitation in regard to Irenæus, differing somewhat from Duncker. See also his *Antignostikus*, p. 477. In connection with the error of Beryllus, however, Neander affirms that the "doctrine of a rational [human] soul in Christ had not, at that time, been generally received, though Origen had done much for its development." — *Hist. Christ. Dogm.*, pp. 152, 153.

¶ *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 53.

usage of the clergy of Rome were the cause of his defection from the Church, it would favor the supposition that, for a time at least, he lived at Rome. He was, says Jerome, of an "acrid and vehement temper," which, indeed, his writings clearly enough show. He was rash, impetuous, fiery; his thoughts are often obscure, and his style harsh, abrupt, abounding in bold rhetoric and exaggeration, which often increases the difficulty of ascertaining his precise meaning. He has had his admirers, but many have turned from his pages with disgust, finding there, as they have thought, more nettles and thorns than flowers and fruit. But, the Montanism of his later years notwithstanding, his authority has always stood high in the Church.

The incidents of his life are very imperfectly known. Jerome's account is brief. It speaks of the multitude of his writings, many of which, it asserts, were not even then extant; and tells us that he lived to a decrepit age. Where and when he died we are not informed. He flourished about the year 200; and may have survived Clement of Alexandria. He is the earliest Latin Father whose writings are extant.

His testimony on the subject of the Trinity, as received in his time, is full and explicit. He has transmitted to us three creeds, or summaries of the belief of Christians in his day;* similar in sentiment, though differing somewhat in expression. All these teach the supremacy of the Father, — a doctrine, in fact, which stands prominent in all the writings of Tertullian, especially in his treatises against Hermogenes and Praxeas. We might fill page after page with expressions in which it is either directly asserted or necessarily implied.

Tertullian admits that the Son is entitled to be called God, on the principle, that "whatever is born of God is God," just as one born of human parents is human. He speaks of him as possessing "unity of substance" with God; but by this and similar phrases, as the learned well know, the ante-Nicene Fathers never meant to express a numerical unity of essence,

* *De Virginibus Velandis*, c. 1; *De Præscrip. Hæret.*, c. 18; *Adv. Prax.*, c. 2. These and all our references to the writings of Tertullian will answer equally well for the Paris editions of 1646 and 1675, and the recent edition by Leopold (Gersdorf), which is more convenient for consultation than the old editions.

but only a specific, that is, a common nature. Thus all human beings, as such, are of one substance: the son is of one substance with the father. In this sense, Tertullian evidently uses the phrase in question, as he immediately proceeds to explain; for, after saying that the Son has "unity of substance" with God, he adds, "For God is spirit"; and "from spirit is produced spirit; from God, God; from light, light." * Thus he supposes the Son to be in some sort divine by virtue of his birth, and of one substance with God, as he is a spirit, and God is spirit. At the same time, he regarded him as a different being from the Father; that is, numerically distinct from him. This all his illustrations imply; and, moreover, he expressly affirms it. "The Son," he says, "is derived from God, as the branch from the root, the stream from the fountain, the ray from the sun." "The root and the branch are two *things*, though conjoined; and the fountain and the stream are two *species*, though undivided; and the sun and its ray are two *forms*, though cohering." † And so, according to him, God and Christ are two *things*, two *species*, two *forms*. Things "conjoined," or "cohering," must necessarily be two. We do not use the terms of one individual substance. Again: referring to John i. 1, he says, "There is one who was, and another with whom he was." ‡ Again: he observes, "The Father is different from the Son (another), as he is greater; as he who begets is different from him who is begotten; he who sends, different from him who is sent; he who does a thing, different from him through whom (as an instrument) it is done." § Again: alluding to 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28, he says, "From this passage of the apostolical Epistle, it may be shown that the Father and Son are two, not only from a difference in name, but from the fact, that he who delivers a kingdom and he to whom it is delivered, he who subjects and he who receives in subjection, are necessarily two." ‖

That he regarded the Son as inferior, is evident from the following declarations. He was produced by the Father. "The Lord created me," as he quotes from the Septuagint, "the beginning of his ways" (Prov. viii. 22). Thus he was

* *Apol. adv. Gentes*, c. 21. † *Adv. Prax.*, c. 8. ‡ *Ibid.*, c. 13.
§ *Ibid.*, c. 9 ‖ *Ibid.*, c. 4.

the first of all beings produced, "the beginning" of the creation, the first work of God, who, as Tertullian adds, being about to form the world, "produced the Word, that by him," as his instrument, "he might make the universe."* "The Father," he says, "is a whole substance; the Son a derivation and portion of the whole, as he professes, saying, 'The Father is greater than I,'"† which Tertullian understands according to the literal import of the terms. He speaks of God as the "head of Christ," and of the latter as deriving all his power and titles from the former. Thus he is "most high, *because* by the right hand of God exalted, as Peter declares (Acts ii. 33), Lord of hosts, *because* all things are subjected to him by the Father."‡ He "does nothing except by the will of the Father, having received all power from him."§ And hence, Tertullian contends, the supremacy of the Father, or monarchy, as he calls it, which the innovations of the learned Platonizing Christians were thought by the more simple and unlettered to impair, is preserved; the Son having received from the Father the kingdom, which he is hereafter to restore.

Tertullian, though he admits the preëxistence of the Son, expressly denies his eternity. "There was a time," he tells us, "when the Son was not."‖ Again: "Before all things, God was alone, himself a world and place, and all things to himself." That is, as he explains it, nothing existed without or beyond himself. "Yet he was not alone; for he had his own reason, which was in himself, with him. For God is rational," a being endued with reason.¶

This reason, or Logos, as it was called by the Greeks, was afterwards, as Tertullian believed, converted into the Word, or Son, that is, a real being, having existed from eternity only as an attribute of the Father. Tertullian assigned to him, however, a rank subordinate to the Father; representing him as deriving from the Father his being and power, subject in all things to his will, and one with him as he partook of a similar spiritual and divine nature, and was united with him in affection and purpose.** The Father, he says, is "more ancient,

* *Adv. Prax.*, cc. 6, 7. † *Ibid.*, c. 9. ‡ *Ibid.*, c. 17.
§ *Ibid.*, c. 4. ‖ *Adv. Hermog.*, c. 8. ¶ *Adv. Prax.*, c. 5.
** *Ibid.*, c. 22. "With respect to Wisdom and the Son, Sophia and

nobler, and more powerful than the Son."* This is one of the passages selected for animadversion by the learned Jesuit Petavius, who speaks of the writer in terms of strong censure, making him exceed the Arians in "impiety and absurdity." †

We might multiply our quotations without number, but it is unnecessary. Judged according to any received explanation of the Trinity at the present day, the attempt to save Tertullian from condemnation would be hopeless. He could not stand the test a moment. His creeds, compared with those of subsequent times, are particularly defective. Here is one of them, very much resembling the Apostles' Creed in its more ancient and simple form: "We believe in one only God, omnipotent, Maker of the world; and his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised from the dead the third day, received into the heavens, now sitting at the right hand of the Father, and who shall come to judge the living and the dead through the resurrection of the flesh."‡

This, Tertullian gives as the one only fixed and unalterable "rule of faith." But this is no Trinitarian creed. The Father and Son are clearly distinguished, and the supremacy of the Father is preserved. Not one word is said of the Spirit, though the writer afterwards mentions it, explaining it as "vicarious," that is, in the place of Christ; referring to the words of Jesus (John xvi. 13), which he quotes. Nothing is said of its personality; which, indeed, is plainly excluded. One desires nothing more liberal than the creed of this old Father.

Besides the omission of the Spirit in that here given, there is no mention in it of Christ's "descent into hell," of the "holy Catholic Church," the "communion of saints," or the

Filius," says Bishop Kaye, "Tertullian assigns to both a beginning of existence: Sophia was created or formed, in order to devise the plan of the universe; and the Son was begotten in order to carry that plan into effect." Again, by making matter self-existent and eternal, Hermogenes, as Tertullian argued, "placed it above the Word or Wisdom; who, as begotten of God, had both an author and beginning of his being." — *Writings of Tertullian*, pp. 523, 535, 3d edit.

* *Adv. Hermog.*, c. 18.

† *Dogm. Theol.*, lib. ii. c. 1, § 5.

‡ *De Virg. Veland.*, c. 1.

"remission of sins," which appear in the Apostles' Creed in its present form. So brief were the older creeds. Here is one, composed about the end of the second century, which is shorter and simpler than the so-called Apostles' Creed. Tertullian does not admit that the corruption of man's nature is "total," or that the seeds of good are altogether extinguished in it. "There is a portion of God," he says, "in the soul. In the worst, there is something good; and in the best, something bad:" and he speaks of infancy as the "age of innocence." *

We cannot pass over without notice a very remarkable passage in the writings of Tertullian, which has been adduced to prove that the great bulk of Christians in his time were not believers in the doctrine held by the Platonizing Fathers, relating to the nature and rank of the Son. It certainly has an important bearing on the question, as to what plain, unlettered Christians at that day believed, or rather did not believe, respecting the nature of the Son. But on this question we do not touch. We have another object in quoting the passage, which is, to show by attention to Tertullian's reasoning how he disposed of the objection, that he and others who thought with him made two Gods; how they reconciled their teachings with the Divine Unity. The party of Tertullian, it must be remembered, had adopted the word "Œconomy," an obscure term, which they applied to the relations of God with the Son and Spirit, or to the Trinity as it was then understood. This perplexed the unlettered Christians, as well it might.

"The simple," says Tertullian, "not to say the unskilful and unlearned, who always constitute the greater part of believers, since the rule of faith itself transfers their worship of many Gods to the one only and true God, not understanding that the unity (of God) is to be believed, but with the *œconomy*, are frightened at this œconomy. This number and disposition of the Trinity they regard as a division of the unity. . . . Thus they declare that we proclaim two or three Gods; but they, they affirm, worship only one. . . . We, say they, hold the monarchy. . . . The Latins shout aloud for the

* *De Anima*, c. 41; *De Baptismo*, c. 18. "Original goodness," says Neander, "he held to be indelible." — *Hist. Christ. Dogm.*, p. 184.

monarchy; and the Greeks will not understand the œconomy." *

How does Tertullian reply? Monarchy, he says, is one rule or dominion, but may be administered through many officials; or the monarch may associate his son with him, all power still emanating from him. The monarchy then remains. So with the divine monarchy. Around the throne of the heavenly king may stand "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, of angels executing his commands. But that does not destroy the monarchy. And how can we say that it is destroyed, if, instead of these angels whom no man can number, who are of a nature foreign to him, he employs the Son and Spirit, who are second and third to him, and of a similar nature as begotten of his substance?" Tertullian then proceeds to say that the Son does "nothing without the Father's will," — that all his "power was received from the Father" who granted it, that as the Son receives all, "the Father subjecting all things to him," he shall in the end "*restore* all," delivering up all to the Father, to whom "he shall also himself be subjected," that God may be "all in all." † So the monarchy is not overthrown, says Tertullian. True. But what becomes of Christ's supreme divinity and of his numerical identity with the Father? They are excluded. Thus Tertullian could find no other unity than this, — The Son was of Divine origin, and his will always harmonized with the will of the Father, — which is no unity at all in the later Athanasian sense. Well might Tertullian explain the celebrated text, "I and my Father are one" (John x. 30), as meaning "one thing, not one person, the neuter gender being used." It "pertains," he says, "only to unity of affection, to the love which the Father bore to the Son, and the obedience of the Son who did the Father's will," making himself, "not God himself, but the Son of God." ‡ But here is no homoousian Trinity.

We may observe, in conclusion, that Tertullian has been supposed, like the older Christian Fathers generally, to have believed that Christ did not possess a human rational soul, the Logos supplying its place. And from the language he some-

* *Adv. Prax.*, c. 3. † *Ibid.*, cc. 3, 4. See also c. 13. ‡ *Ibid.*, c. 22.

times employs, it is difficult to avoid this inference. Neander rejects it, and says that this Father "is the first writer by whom a perfect human nature consisting of body and soul is distinctly asserted." *

But "of the eternal generation — eternal personality of the Son, and numerical unity of being of the Father and Son," in the language of Martini, "he knew nothing, and so there was between his and the Athanasian orthodoxy a wide gulf fixed." †

We cannot close this chapter without adding a word respecting the class of Christians to which Tertullian refers — the common and uneducated. It has often occurred to us, as these pages containing notices of the early Fathers have been passing through the press, to ask ourselves where, all this time, were these simple and unlearned Christians, and what were their thoughts and feelings? How did the abstruse controversies and sublimated speculations with which the more learned and philosophical church teachers and writers were occupying themselves, affect the minds of the plain and uneducated men and women of the day? Did they concern themselves at all about them? We are inclined to think that persons of this class in the early ages took very little interest in these speculations and controversies, — that, when they did interest themselves in them, urging objections and uttering remonstrances, it was the exeeption and not the rule. What cared they for Marcion, and Valentinus, and Basilides, and Manes, and Praxeas, and Hermogenes, and Sabellius, and

* *Hist. Christ. Dogm.*, p. 199, Bohn; *Antignostikus*, p. 477. So also Hagenbach, *Text-Book*, etc., First Period, § 66. See Tert. *Adv. Prax.*, cc. 16, 27; *De Carne Christi*, cc. 11–18, and 18. Origen strenuously argues the necessity of a human soul as well as body in Christ, and his argument finally triumphed.

† *Versuch*, etc., p. 110. Schwegler, as quoted by Hagenbach (First Per., § 42), says, "We find in Tertullian, on the one hand, the effort to hold fast the entire equality of the Father and the Son; — on the other hand, the inequality is so manifestly conceded, or presupposed, it is everywhere expressed in so marked and, as it were, involuntary a way, and it strikes its roots so deeply into his whole system and modes of expression, that it must doubtless be considered as the real and inmost conception of Tertullian's system." — [See Schwegler's *Montanismus*, p. 41. — ED.]

Paul of Samosata, and the rest, who gave the Fathers such infinite trouble, lighting up controversies which for ages were not extinct?

For the most beautiful and affecting evidences of the practical character and ennobling influences of the religion of the Son of Mary we must turn, not to the folios of the Fathers, or acts of councils engaged in defining dark and subtile points of theology, but to the remains of early Christian art in the Catacombs in and about Rome. These served as a refuge and a sanctuary to the ancient church in times of persecution, and a place of burial for their dead long after the days of Tertullian. Since the opening of the Catacombs, in modern times, numerous slabs and tiles containing inscriptions have been taken out and brought into the light of day. Many of them have been inserted in the walls of the "Lapidarian Gallery," in the Vatican, where the inscriptions and epitaphs may be read by all eyes. They are records of faith and affection, not of theology. For the most part they contain only the baptismal name, and the words, often misspelt, and the letters irregular, were evidently written by the "unlettered muse." They clearly belong to the simple and uneducated Christians, — not to the learned, but to the unlearned, — not to those who wrote ponderous tomes of theology, and wrangled in councils, but to humble believers — the class to whom Tertullian refers. The "Fathers of the Church," it has been remarked, "live in their voluminous works; the lower orders are only represented by these simple records, from which, with scarcely an exception, sorrow and complaint are banished; the boast of suffering, or an appeal to the revengeful passions, is nowhere to be found. One expresses faith, another hope, a third charity. The genius of primitive Christianity — to believe, to love, and to suffer — has never been better illustrated. These 'sermons in stones' are addressed to the heart and not to the head — to the feelings rather than to the taste."*

The epitaphs and inscriptions thus disinterred, of these old Christians, possess, indeed, a touching beauty and simplicity. Some of them are traced back to the end of the first or beginning of the second century, and constitute almost the only

* Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs*, p. 13. London, 1846.

authentic monument of the period which remains. The name of Christ, or its monogram, perpetually appears; often the good shepherd; and the cross, either alone, or accompanied with the emblematic crown or palm, is everywhere met.

Such was the religion of the unlettered Christians; and these rude epitaphs and memorials many will think of more value than all the controversial divinity of the Fathers; and the triumphs of patience, gentleness, and love which they record did more for the establishment of Christianity on the ruins of Paganism than all the writings of the learned converts. The subtleties of controversialists have no charm by the side of these artless records of faith and affection. It is refreshing to turn from Tertullian and the rest, with their disputes about the "œconomy" and the "Logos" produced in time or before time, to the relics of these simple believers, spoken of almost with contempt by the Fathers in their pride and conceit of learning. A fragment of one of these primitive epitaphs is worth more than a whole treatise of the old Latin Father who has stood before us.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, AND HIS TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

MARTYRDOMS AFTER THAT OF JUSTIN. — TIME OF CLEMENT. — ALEXANDRIA. — BIOGRAPHY OF CLEMENT. — PANTÆNUS. — CLEMENT'S CONVERSION. — BECOMES HEAD OF THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA. — WAS THERE IN 211. — DISAPPEARS FROM HISTORY. — DIRECTION OF STUDIES IN THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL. — CLEMENT'S WRITINGS. — HIS HORTATORY ADDRESS.

WE have been thus far occupied, in great part, with the life and opinions, and especially the theological opinions, of Justin Martyr, who lived mostly in Palestine and at Rome where he suffered. We must now ask our readers to accompany us to the land of the Pharaohs, — whither "the young child" Jesus and "his mother" went, — and to Alexandria, its capital. The time is about the year 200, that is, two centuries after the infant Jesus was there. What a revolution had these two centuries brought about! Fifty years nearly have elapsed since Justin's death. During these fifty years the relations of Christians to the State, and the intense popular hatred against them, had little changed. They remained very much as described at the time of Justin's death.

The martyrdoms under the second Antonine, Marcus Aurelius the philosopher, embraced, besides that of Justin, those of the aged Polycarp of Smyrna, the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons in Gaul, and others. Marcus passed away in A. D. 180, and with him ended the golden days of the Roman Empire. His successors, most of them, had a short reign. "They flitted," says the historian, "like shadows along the tragic scene of the imperial palace," — "Africans and Syrians, Arabs and Thracians," — seizing, in turn, "the quickly shifting sceptre

of the world." Septimius Severus obtained the purple in 193; and the cruel Caracalla, in 211, — his reign ending with his death in 217. Clement, the subject of our present notice, flourished under the reigns of the two last-named emperors, — Septimius and Caracalla, — that is, between the years 193 and 217. Like Justin, he was a learned man, — the more scholarly of the two; like him, too, he was born and bred in heathenism, and was an adept in philosophy before he became a Christian; — his place, Alexandria in Egypt.

Alexandria was at this time the seat of learning and refinement, of wealth and luxury, and the centre of the commerce of the world. Here we meet the Jewish, the Oriental, and the Grecian culture, mingled with the old Egyptian superstitions, — all combined in bitter opposition to the religion of the Son of Mary, now grown to be a thing of might and significance. Here had lived and taught the learned Philo. Here was the celebrated school of the later Platonists. Here, too, was the great library of the ancient world, containing, it is said, four hundred thousand volumes. Learning was now passing over to the Christians. Here was their great school of theology. Here now was Clement; and, soon after, the more famous Origen, a prodigy of learning, and a great genius. Here, in the city of Alexander, was now congregated all that was elevated and all that was vile, all that could command reverence and all that could inspire disgust, — high, dreamy mysticism on one side, and the coarsest profligacy on the other.

The biography of Clement must, from poverty of materials, be of the briefest kind. We will state what is known of him; then look a little at his arguments for the truth of Christianity; at his theology, which was not Trinitarian; at the private and social life of the Alexandrians of his day, so far as it can be gathered from his writings; and at Clement's idea or conception of the perfect Christian.

Titus Flavius Clemens was his whole name. So far as his personal history is concerned, he is little more than a shadow seen through the dim mist of ages. A few lines will tell all that can be gleaned concerning it from himself, Eusebius, Jerome, and other sources. Eusebius the historian, who was inti-

mately acquainted with the writings of Christian antiquity, many of which are now lost, wrote in the earlier part of the fourth century; and Jerome, who was universally learned, flourished at the end of the same century. The latter, in his book on "Illustrious Men," devotes but part of a page to Clement and his writings; and the former is scarcely more copious; so completely had the materials for anything like a biography of him perished even in their day. That he lived and wrote in the times of Severus and Caracalla (that is, at the end of the second and beginning of the third century), is asserted by Jerome; but the time of his birth and death he does not tell us, and probably did not know, and history has preserved no record of it. The place of his birth is equally uncertain. Both Athens and Alexandria are mentioned by different writers, but on no better ground than conjecture. We have the authority of Eusebius for saying that he was a convert from Heathenism. His great Christian teacher was Pantænus. To him he is supposed to refer when, in his "Stromata," speaking of his instructors, after enumerating several, — as (if we understand him, for the passage is somewhat obscure) one in Greece, one in Italy, the former from Cœle-Syria, the latter from Egypt; besides two more, one an Assyrian, and the other a native of Palestine, by descent a Hebrew, — he says that the last with whom he met was the first in merit; that he found him concealed in Egypt; and, having discovered him, he desisted from further search. Of him he was a great admirer. "He was," says Clement, "in truth, a Sicilian bee, who, cropping the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow, caused a pure knowledge to grow up in the minds of his hearers." *

Whether he became a convert to Christianity before or after his acquaintance with Pantænus, he does not distinctly inform us. We infer, however, that he owed his conversion, in part at least, to him. One thing is certain, — that, after ranging over all the systems of ancient religion and philosophy, he became a Christian, abandoning the "sinful service of Paganism for the faith of the Redeemer," at the age of manhood, and in the full exercise of a free and inquiring mind;

* *Stromata*, lib. i. c. 1; *Opp.*, t. i. p. 322, ed. Potter.

and thus, like Justin, he furnishes an example of a learned convert, who became a disciple of the cross from conviction, in the prime and vigor of his faculties. No man that ever lived was better acquainted with the ancient heathen religions, philosophy, and mythology, than Clement; yet he gave up all for the simple teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, in which he found the only religion that satisfied his intellect, and encouraged his soul's best and highest aspirations.

Of his teachers he preserved an ever-grateful recollection; and in one of his principal works, the "Stromata," he records, as he tells us, what he learned from them as an antidote against forgetfulness, and a treasure against old age. They received it by tradition, he says, from the Apostles Peter, James, John, and Paul. He became, first, assistant, and afterwards successor, of Pantænus, in the Catechetical or Theological School at Alexandria, and was presbyter of the church there. He would seem to have left Alexandria during the persecution under Septimius Severus, about 202. It is certain that he was at Jerusalem, visiting the hallowed spots there, early in the reign of Caracalla; whence he took a commendatory letter, a fragment of which is preserved by Eusebius, to the Christians of Antioch. In the letter he is spoken of as already known to them of Antioch. He returned to Alexandria, and was head of the school there in 211. He then vanishes from our sight. How or where he died, it is in vain to search. It was not many years after.

In philosophy, Clement was an eclectic. "I espoused," says he, "not this or that philosophy, not the Stoic, not the Platonic, not the Epicurean, not that of Aristotle, but whatever any of these sects had said which was fit and just, which taught righteousness and a divine and religious knowledge, — all *that*, being selected, I call philosophy."

His studies took direction from his position and the demands of the age. The school of Alexandria, in his time, required learned teachers who had received a philosophical education, and were acquainted with the Grecian religion and culture. For they had not simply to teach the young the elements of the Christian faith: they were surrounded by learned Pagans, some of whom frequented the school; and with these they

must discuss great questions in a manner to satisfy the speculative and wisdom-loving Greeks. If the Jews required a sign, the Greeks sought after wisdom. They were speculative; they could not be treated as babes. Hence the speculative turn which Christian studies took in the Alexandrian school. Here, properly, Christian theology first sprang up. Here was the great battle-field of the old and the new, — Heathenism and Christianity. Here it was, as before said, that the faith of Jesus — two hundred years after Joseph, taking "the young child and his mother by night," went down with them as fugitives into Egypt — was brought into conflict, hand to hand, with all the religions, and all the philosophy, and all the traditions, of the then ancient world; and, time-hallowed as they were, and defended by the ablest men, and sustained by court influence and the whole weight of the imperial power, they all fell before the vigorous blows of such champions of the cross as Clement, Origen of the adamantine arm, and others. As to the necessity of learning in the Christian teachers of Alexandria, we may hear what Clement himself says. There is much truth in what he asserts: "He who would gather from every quarter what would be for the profit of the catechumens, especially if they are Greeks, must not, like irrational brutes, be shy of much learning; but he must seek to collect around him every possible means of helping his hearers."

Eusebius, in the sixth book of his History,* and Jerome, in his short account of "Illustrious Men," have left us a catalogue of Clement's writings; apparently, however, incomplete. Of these, some are lost;† but we have still the "Hortatory

* Cap. 13.

† Of these, the work entitled "Hypotyposes," in eight books, is particularly to be regretted, on account of the historical information which, according to Eusebius, it contained; particularly an abridged account of the canonical writings of the New Testament, together with those then considered as of doubtful genuineness; as the Book of Jude and the other Catholic Epistles, as also the Epistle of Barnabas and Revelation of Peter. The tradition relating to the order in which the Gospels were written; to the origin, in particular, of Mark's Gospel; and the purpose of John in writing his, — is given by Eusebius as a quotation from the "Hypotyposes." From the same source it appears that Clement asserted that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul in Hebrew, and translated by Luke (Euseb. *Hist.*, lib. vi. c. 14; also

Address to the Greeks," the "Pædagogue," the "Stromata," and a little tract entitled, "Who is the Rich Man that shall be Saved?" besides a few inconsiderable fragments of other works. The hymn appended to his works is, to say the least, of doubtful genuineness.

The "Hortatory Address," in one book, is designed to recommend Christianity to the reception of the heathen. Like the other productions of Clement, and most of the productions of the Fathers, it is written with very little attention to method. It is not what would now be called a systematic defence of the divine origin of Christianity; yet it contains many forcible and striking thoughts, some strains of elevated sentiment, and some vigorous and animated passages, which may even now be read with pleasure and profit. It was no difficult task for Clement, familiar as he was with the mythological fables of antiquity, to expose the absurdity of the old superstitions. The comparison of Christianity with Paganism in regard to their pervading spirit and tendencies, and especially with reference to the great principles of piety and morality, could not fail of demonstrating the immense superiority of the former. Of this, Clement and the early apologists were fully aware; and accordingly they insist very much on what may be called the moral argument for the truth of Christianity. This they evidently felt to be their strong point; at least, it was one which, in consequence of the peculiar belief of the age, they could urge with more effect than any other; not even excepting that of miracles, the reality of which no one thought of questioning, but which, as it was supposed,

lib. ii. c. 15). The work, no doubt, embodied several traditions which it would be desirable to possess. It contained, according to Photius, some errors of doctrine, or what in his time were esteemed such. In it, he says, Clement makes the Son a creature; matter he represents as eternal; and he asserts the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and says that there was a succession of worlds before Adam. These and several other doctrines which he enumerates, Photius says, Clement attempted to defend by quotations from the Scriptures. That Clement might have held these, and other views mentioned by Photius, however some admirers of the Fathers may be shocked at the thought, is by no means improbable, as they are found among that assemblage of philosophical opinions which obtained a ready reception in the school of Alexandria in the time of Clement; and many of which, as his writings show, he incorporated into his theology.

might be attributed to magic or theurgic art, and therefore furnished no decisive criterion of a revelation.

Many of the arguments employed by the Fathers in defence of Christianity — and by Clement among the rest — appear to us, at the present day, altogether futile or irrelevant. But we must recollect the sort of minds they addressed, and the peculiar prejudices they were compelled to combat. We must go back to their times, and make ourselves familiar with the intellectual character and habits of those by whom they were surrounded, and for whose benefit they wrote. Until we do this, we are not in a condition to do justice to their merits. Trains of reasoning, which would have no weight with us, might be convincing at that day; and faults of taste, a rambling method, specimens of unsound criticism and interpretation, violent and far-fetched analogies, and instances of credulity and superstition, which would doom a modern performance to neglect, would give little offence in an age unaccustomed to much order and precision in thinking and writing, and abounding in all sorts of extravagant opinions.

CHAPTER II.

CLEMENT'S THEOLOGY. — HE DOES NOT ASCRIBE TO THE SON A DISTINCT PERSONAL SUBSISTENCE FROM ETERNITY. — MAKES HIM ORIGINALLY AN ATTRIBUTE. — ASSERTS HIS INFERIORITY IN STRONG TERMS. — ANTIQUITY OF CHRISTIANITY. — INSPIRATION OF PLATO AND THE PHILOSOPHERS. — INFLUENCE OF THE ART OF SCULPTURE AMONG THE GREEKS. — MAN NOT BORN DEPRAVED.

WE give an extract from Bishop Kaye's "Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement"; which furnishes a good specimen of Clement's general style of argument, and further contains his views of the Son, Logos, or Word. The passage occurs near the commencement of the "Hortatory Address." Clement introduces it, fancifully enough, as was his way, by an allusion to the fabled power of music among the Greeks, who taught that Amphion raised the walls of Thebes by the sound of his lyre, and that Orpheus tamed savage beasts and charmed trees and mountains by the sweetness of his song. The Christian musician, or Christ, he says, had performed greater things than these; for he had "tamed men, the most savage of beasts"; instead of "leading men to idols, stocks, and stones," he had "converted stones and beasts into men."

"He who sprang from David, yet *was* before David, the Word of God, disdaining inanimate instruments, the harp and lyre, adapts this world, and the little world man, both his soul and body, to the Holy Spirit, and thus celebrates God. What, then, does the instrument, the Word of God the Lord, the New Song, mean? To open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf; to guide the lame and the wanderer to righteousness; to show God to foolish man; to put an end to corruption; to overcome death; to reconcile disobedient children to their Father. The instrument of God loves man. The Lord pities, disciplines, exhorts, admonishes, saves, guards, and, of his abundance, promises the kingdom of heaven as the reward of learning from *him*; requiring nothing from *us* but that we shall be saved. Think not, however, that the Song of Salvation is new. We

existed before the foundation of the world, existing first in God himself, inasmuch as we were destined to exist; we were the rational creatures of the Reason (or Word) of God; we were in the beginning through the Word, because the Word was in the beginning. The Word was from the beginning, and therefore was and is the divine beginning of all things; but now that he has taken the name which of old was sanctified, *the Christ*, he is called by me a New Song. This Word, the Christ, was from the beginning the cause both of our being (for he was in God) and of our well-being. Now he has appeared to men, being alone both God and man, the Author to us of all good; by whom, being instructed how to live well, we are speeded onwards to eternal life. This is the New Song, — the manifestation, now shining forth in us, of the Word, who was in the beginning and before the beginning. The preëxistent Saviour has appeared nigh unto us; he who exists in the Self-existent has appeared; the Word, who was with God, has appeared as our Teacher; the Word, by whom all things were made, who in the beginning, when he formed us, gave us life as our Maker, appearing as our Teacher, has taught us to live well, in order that hereafter he may, as God, give us life eternal. He has appeared to assist us against the serpent who enslaves men, binding them to stocks and statues and idols by the wretched bond of superstition. He offered salvation to the Israelites of old by signs and wonders in Egypt and the desert, at the burning bush, and in the cloud which followed the Hebrews like a servant-maid. He spoke to them by Moses and Isaiah and the whole prophetic choir; but he speaks to us directly by himself. He is made man, that we may learn from man how man may become God. Is it not, then, strange that God should invite us to virtue, and that we should slight the benefit, and put aside the proffered salvation?" — pp. 11–14.*

Those who will be at the pains carefully to analyze this passage will perceive, that, though Clement believed the Son to have existed before the world, and does not hesitate to bestow on him the title God, he is far from ascribing to him supreme, underived divinity. The phrases "in the beginning" and "before the world was," and others of similar import, which Clement, in common with most of the early Fathers, applies to him, by no means implied their belief that he had a personal existence from eternity. This is evident

* Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria. By John, Bishop of Lincoln. London, 1835. 8vo.

from the fact, that, in the passage above quoted, the very same expressions are applied by him to the human race. "We," says Clement, "existed before the foundation of the world; existing first in God himself, inasmuch as we were destined to exist."

The Fathers ascribed to the Son a sort of metaphysical or potential existence in the Father; that is, they supposed that he existed in him from all eternity as an attribute, — his *logos*, reason, or wisdom; that, before the formation of the world, this attribute acquired by a voluntary act of the Father a distinct personal subsistence, and became his instrument in the creation. The germ of this doctrine will be found in the passage above given.

That the Logos was originally regarded by Clement, in common with the other Fathers, as the reason or wisdom of God, is undoubted. Like other attributes or qualities, it was sometimes represented figuratively as speaking and acting. By a transition not very difficult in an age accustomed to speculations of the subtilest nature, if intelligible at all, it came at length to be viewed as a real being or person, having a distinct personal subsistence. Still the former modes of expression were not for a long time wholly laid aside. Traces of the old doctrine are visible among the Fathers of Clement's time. Clement himself sometimes speaks of the Logos as an attribute. He calls the Son expressly "a certain energy or operation of the Father."* And, again, he speaks of the Logos of the Father of the universe as "the wisdom and goodness of God most manifest," or most fully manifested.†

None of the Platonizing Fathers before Origen have acknowledged the inferiority of the Son in more explicit terms than Clement. Photius, writing in the ninth century, besides charging him, as already said, with making the Son a "creature" (*Cod.* 109), says that he used other "impious words full of blasphemy," in a work which has since perished. Rufinus, too, accuses him of calling the "Son of God a creature."‡

We might quote numerous passages from Clement in which

* *Stromata*, lib. vii. c. 2, p. 833, ed. Potter.

† *Stromata*, lib. v. c. 1, p. 646. ‡ Jerome, *Apol. adv. Rufin.*, lib. ii.

the inferiority of the Son is distinctly asserted. Thus, after observing that "the most excellent thing on earth is a most pious man, and the most excellent thing in heaven an angel," he adds, "But the most perfect, and most holy, and most commanding, and most regal, and by far the most beneficent nature, is that of the Son, which is next to the only omnipotent Father." He "obeys the will of the good and omnipotent Father"; "rules all things by the will of the Father"; "he is constituted the cause of all good by the will of the omnipotent Father." * — "If thou wilt be initiated," that is, become a Christian, "thou shalt join in the dance around the uncreated and imperishable and only true God, the Word (Logos, Son) of God hymning with us." † We are astonished that any one can read Clement with ordinary attention, and imagine for a single moment that he regarded the Son as numerically identical — one — with the Father. His dependent and inferior nature, as it seems to us, is everywhere recognized. Clement believed God and the Son to be numerically distinct; in other words, two beings, — the one supreme, the other subordinate, the "first-created of God," first-born of all created intelligences, and with them, as their elder brother, hymning hallelujahs around the throne of the one Infinite Father.

He calls the Son, or Logos, the "image of God," as man is the "image of man"; again, his "hand," or instrument. He describes God as the "original and sole Author of eternal life; which the Son," he says, "receiving of God, gives to us." He makes the great requisite of eternal life to be, to "know God, eternal, giver of eternal blessings, and first and supreme and one and good; and then the greatness of the Saviour after him"; ‡ according to the declaration of Jesus, 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.'"

Clement's views of the Logos had nothing marked or peculiar in them by which he was distinguished from those who went before; if we except, possibly, the very slight difference mentioned in the note below, — too insignificant almost

* *Stromata*, lib. vii. c. 2, pp. 831–833.
† *Cohort.*, c. 12, p. 92.
‡ *Quis Dives salvetur*, cc. 6–8, p. 939.

for notice. Those of the present day who talk of the eternal generation of the Son cannot allege, as authority, the Church or the Fathers of the first three centuries. They are all on the other side;* Origen, possibly, excepted.

The antiquity of the Son, or Logos, was a topic to which Clement and the Fathers often adverted; and it should be observed that they had a particular motive for this. One great obstacle to the reception of Christianity, and one to the consideration of which Clement allots no small space, was custom, prescription. Christianity, it was urged, was new; a thing of yesterday; an institution which had suddenly risen up, and ventured boldly to attack the time-hallowed religions and philosophy of the old world. To forsake these in its favor, it was represented, would be great impiety. This argument the early apologists for Christianity met, partly by dwelling on the superior antiquity of Moses, from whom, as they erroneously contended, Plato and the Grecian sages had borrowed the most valuable of their philosophical opinions;† and partly by insisting that these sages derived gleams of

* Neander (*History of Christian Dogmas*, p. 144, Bohn) says, that "in Clement we first meet with the attempt to set aside the idea of time in its application to the transition of the Logos into reality." Justin and others believed that this transition took place when God was about to proceed to the work of creation. But the idea of any specific time could be excluded, without the supposition that the transition, called the generation of the Son, took place from eternity. This neither Clement, nor the Fathers generally, believed. They could say, that he was begotten without reference to time, or before time, or the measure of time; but this was very different from referring the event to eternity, which they never thought of doing. This distinction Neander himself recognizes. Arius, who believed that the Son was created out of nothing, discarded the idea of time as connected with the event. Some of the Fathers taught that the Son was begotten when the world lay in chaos. How they would have expressed themselves had they been acquainted with the modern science of geology, it is impossible to say.

† This is often distinctly asserted. Thus Clement, after quoting a sentiment from Plato, proceeds: "Whence, O Plato! did you learn this truth? Whence that exhaustless affluence of words with which you inculcate the reverence due to the Divinity? I know your masters, though you would conceal them. You learned geometry of the Egyptians; astronomy, of the Babylonians; from the Thracians you received the healing song; Assyrians taught you many things: but laws (as many as are agreeable to truth), and the opinions you entertain concerning God, you owe to the Hebrews" (*Cohort.*, c. 6, p. 60). These plagiarisms of the Greek philosophers are a favorite topic with Clement in the "Stromata."

truth immediately from the same divine Logos, or reason, which had inspired the Jewish prophets, and which had now given to the world the clearer light of Christianity. This Logos, they asserted, was of old, "in the beginning," before time was, with the Father; that Christianity, therefore, far from being, as was represented, the growth of yesterday, dated far back in the ages, before the birth of the oldest of the sages, or the existence even of the world they inhabited. The wise men of Greece, they said, partook from the same fountain, but only "shallow draughts." The Word, Clement denominates, figuratively, the Sun of the Soul. "From this divine fountain of light," says he, "some rays had flowed even to the Greeks, who had thereby been able to discover faint traces of the truth. But," he adds, "the Word himself has now appeared in the form of man to be our teacher." *

Clement attributes a sort of inspiration to Plato and the philosophers. In so doing, he is not singular. Most of the early Fathers of the church do the same. Indeed, the attempt to say or do anything without the inspiration of the Logos, or Word of truth, they maintained, was as idle as to think of walking without feet: a figure which Clement uses. The motive in all these representations, as we have said, was to prove the superior claims of Christianity, and especially its claim to antiquity, in refutation of the argument of the philosophers, overwhelming, as it appeared, to the adherents of Paganism, that it was the mushroom growth of a day, as novel as it was arrogant and exclusive.

For this purpose, as we have stated, a twofold argument was employed: first, that the few scattered rays of truth, which might be gathered from the writings of the Grecian sages, were derived from the same fountain as Christianity, in which the full light beamed; and, secondly, that the Logos, or divine reason, from which this light emanated, was more ancient than the worlds, being, in the beginning, with God. How, then, could Christianity be described as recent, while the religions and philosophy it was designed to supplant numbered centuries? If there was a little subtilty in this reasoning, it was at least suited to the genius of the age, and especially to

* *Cohort. ad Gent.*, c. 7, p. 64.

the speculative Grecian mind. Such were the weapons Clement wielded; such the defences of Christianity growing out of the demands of the times.

Clement regarded the art of sculpture among the Greeks as exerting a debasing influence; for it "dragged down piety to the ground." Men adored, he says, according to his apprehension, the material image, and not the Divinity it represented. The following passage will put our readers in possession of his views on the subject:—

"The makers of gods worship not, as far as I can understand, gods and demons, but earth and art, of which the images are composed; for the image is, in truth, dead matter, formed by the hand of the artificer. But our God, the only true God, is not an object of sense, made out of matter; he is comprehended by the understanding. Alas for your impiety! You bury, as much as lies in your power, the pure essence; and hide in tombs that which is uncontaminated and holy, robbing that which is divine of its true essence. Why do you thus give the honor due to God to those who are no gods? Why, leaving heaven, do you honor earth? For what are gold and silver and adamant and iron and brass and ivory and precious stones, but earth, and from the earth? Are not all these objects which you behold the offspring of our mother, the earth? Why, vain and foolish men, blaspheming the celestial abode, do you drag down piety to the ground, forming to yourselves earthly gods, and, following these created things in preference to the uncreated God, immerse yourselves in thickest darkness? The Parian stone is beautiful, but is not Neptune; the ivory is beautiful, but is not Olympian Jove. Matter always stands in need of art; but God needs nothing. Art comes forth, and matter puts on a form; the costliness of the substance makes it convertible to the purposes of gain; but the form alone renders it an object of veneration. Your statue is gold or wood or stone or earth; if you consider its origin, it received its form from the workman. I have learned to tread upon the earth, not to adore it; nor is it lawful for me to trust the hopes of my soul to things without a soul."

Again: "But, though the artisan can make an idol, he has never made a breathing image or formed soft flesh out of earth. Who liquefied the marrow? who hardened the bones? who extended the nerves? who inflated the veins? who infused blood into them? who stretched the skin around them? who made the eye to see? who breathed a soul into the body? who freely gave righteousness? who

has promised immortality? The Creator of all things, alone, the Supreme Artisan, made man a living image; but your Olympian Jove, the image of an image, far differing from the truth, is the dumb work of Attic hands." *

Christianity, as Clement taught, left men at liberty to pursue their ordinary occupations; and he expressly mentions military service along with navigation and agriculture. His words are, "Give attention to agriculture, if you are a husbandman; but, while you cultivate the earth, acknowledge God. Are you engaged in a maritime occupation? navigate the waters, but invoke the celestial Governor. Does Christianity find you bearing arms? obey the just commands of your general." †

We might glean more from the address; but we do not know that there are any opinions expressed in it, in addition to those already given, which possess sufficient interest to authorize a recital. We will only say, in taking leave of it, that Clement interprets the Mosaic account of the fall allegorically, supposing that by the serpent is to be understood pleasure. He did not believe that man comes into the world "absolutely depraved"; no one, he thinks, "commits iniquity for its own sake"; and the imputation of original sin to children he rejects in the most decided terms. According to him, "man now stands in the same relation to the Tempter, in which Adam stood before the fall." ‡

* Kaye's *Clement*, pp. 15, 24. † *Cohort.*, c. 10, p. 80.
‡ See Hagenbach, *Text-Book*, etc., First Period, § 63.

CHAPTER III.

CLEMENT'S PÆDAGOGUE. — HIS PRECEPTS OF LIVING. — SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE EGYPTIANS IN HIS DAY. — FOOD. — USE OF WINE. — CONVIVIAL ENTERTAINMENTS. — MUSIC. — GARLANDS. — THE LADIES OF ALEXANDRIA. — THE "FINE GENTLEMEN." — CLEMENT AS A REFORMER.

THE "Hortatory Address" is followed by the "Pædagogue," in three books. The object of the "Hortatory Address" was to prove the truth of Christianity, and make converts from Heathenism. But, being converted, men would need to be further taught their duty, and the due regulation of their conduct according to the moral standard of Christianity; and the design of the "Pædagogue" is to meet this want. Du Pin calls it a "discourse entirely of morality"; but it is not a systematic treatise, nor was intended to be such. Barbeyrac finds much fault with it. He says that "it explains nothing as it should do; that there is no one duty which it puts on the right foundation; that the obligations growing out of the social relations are in no one instance traced to their true principles, or so explained as to admit of general application." * All this, and much more, no doubt, may be said with truth; but, in thus stating the defects of the work, it should occur to us that we are censuring Clement for what he never attempted, that is, to give to the world a system of Christian ethics. His task was a more humble one, though not, perhaps, less useful. It was to furnish Christians of his time with practical rules for the direction of their conduct in ordinary every-day life. In doing this, he is exceedingly minute, and often goes into details which are somewhat offensive to delicacy; and many of his precepts and distinctions are ill-founded or puerile. But many of them are just and discriminating, and must have been found in the highest degree useful to Christians, situated as believers then were, — living in the

* *De la Morale des Pères.*

midst of Pagans, and often uncertain, as they must have been, how far compliance with existing customs was justifiable, and where precisely the line of distinction was to be drawn between the manners of the Heathen, and the conduct which should distinguish themselves as disciples of Jesus. Nor are they wholly without interest to us. Taken together, the precepts and directions which Clement has left in the work referred to show in what he (and we suppose he may be taken as a fair specimen of enlightened Christians of his age) supposed Christian morality to consist; what was its extent, and its bearing on common life, — a subject on which minds accustomed to liberal inquiries may be supposed to feel some curiosity. Further: the work throws no little light on Pagan customs, and modes of living, particularly on domestic and social life at Alexandria, at the time Clement wrote, that is, at the commencement of the third century. In either point of view, the performance is not devoid of value; and such is the pure religious tone in which, as a whole, it is written, and the noble and elevated spirit which breathes through many parts of it, that no one, even at the present day, can read it without benefit to himself, except by a fault of his own.

By the "pædagogue," Clement understands Christ, or the Word. The office of Christ designated by this term, it seems, is not so much to teach doctrines as to give precepts of holy living; not to unfold those mystical interpretations of Scripture, the knowledge of which is essential to the perfect Christian, or true Gnostic, as Clement calls him, but by regulating the heart and life of the convert, to fit him for the reception of the highest knowledge. This knowledge it is the object of the "Stromata," the third of the larger works of Clement which have come down to us, to impart. Thus the Word, or Christ, has three offices: the first is hortatory; he then acts the part of the pædagogue; and, lastly, that of a teacher. The pupils of the pædagogue are Christians generally, the Jews having been his former pupils, whom he addressed through Moses and the prophets. These matters are sufficiently explained in the first book of the "Pædagogue"; and Clement enters into an argument to show that the justice of God is not incompatible with his goodness; that the air of

severity which the Jewish dispensation appears sometimes to wear, and the threatenings and chastisements so frequently occurring under it, do not prove, as some heretics contended, that the God of the Jews was not also the God of the Christians; for they are parts of a salutary discipline. Punishment, as Plato taught, is remedial, and souls are benefited by it by being amended. Far from being incompatible with God's goodness, then, it is a striking proof of it. For "punishment is for the good and benefit of him who is punished; it is the bringing back to rectitude that which has swerved from it." So Clement argues. "But," says he, "I do not admit that God wishes to avenge himself; for vengeance is the retribution of evil for the benefit of the avenger; and he who teaches us to pray for those who insult us cannot desire to avenge himself." The discipline God administers through his Son, or Christ, is various, but all designed for the salvation of men. Thus the pædagogue adopts at different times different measures, some more mild and others more severe, but all for the accomplishment of the same benevolent end. "Those who are sick," says Clement, "need a Saviour; they who have wandered, a guide; they who are blind, one who shall lead them to the light; they who thirst, the living fountain, of which he who partakes shall thirst no more; the dead need life; the sheep, a shepherd; children, a pædagogue; all mankind need Jesus."

We now turn to the habits of private and social life of the Alexandrians, a little after the year 200 of our era, as far as they may be collected from what we may call Clement's precepts of living. In the second and third books of the "Pædagogue" he goes into some very curious details, from which a writer who should undertake to portray the social life, and especially the luxurious habits, of the Alexandrians at the end of the second century, would derive essential aid. The fidelity of his representations there is no reason for doubting; and from the prohibitory precepts he delivers, even when he does not attempt a formal description, much may be inferred as to the manners of the age; for there is a tacit reference to the existing state of things, and to the dangers to which Christians were on all sides exposed in that gay city. Clement is ad-

dressing Christians; but it is not a necessary inference that they participated in all the faults and excesses he condemns. If so, they had been little benefited by their conversion. That so many cautionary precepts were deemed necessary, however, if they were not designed especially for the use of recent converts, may suggest the suspicion, that the prevalent conceptions of the requisitions of Christianity, regarded as a rule of life, were somewhat low and imperfect.

Clement first treats of food and its uses. We should "eat to live," he says, and not "live to eat," — having regard to health and strength, which are best promoted by simplicity of diet. Food is not our business, nor pleasure the end; and he draws a picture of the gourmand of his day, and gives a catalogue of the delicacies most prized by him. The word *agapæ*, in some sort sacred, was, it seems, in his time applied to luxurious entertainments, and was made to sanction intemperance: of this he complains as an abuse of which, as it would appear, Christians were guilty. His description of an epicure, with his "eyes turned downward to the earth, always bending over tables which are furnished from the earth"; and his account of the conduct of many at feasts, of the "eagerness with which they scrutinized the various dishes, and the ridiculous gestures by which it was expressed"; of the impeded utterance, and other indecencies witnessed, — contain some graphic touches. Many of the habits he condemns certainly exhibit great coarseness of manners; and, if we may credit his representations, an Egyptian entertainment, at the period alluded to, presented a scene one would not wish often to witness. Clement, however, has no narrow and bigoted notions: for he allows Christians, when invited, to attend the feasts of the Heathen, and to partake of a variety of food; observing, in the mean time, the laws of temperance and propriety.

From eating, Clement proceeds to drinking. The "wine question," as it is called, is not new: it seems, it was agitated in Clement's day; and, as he is an authority which has been appealed to in recent discussions, some of our readers may feel a little curiosity to know his views on the subject more fully. We give the following summary and quotations from

Bishop Kaye's "Clement"; after which we will add a passage which the bishop has omitted, having an express bearing on the controversy as it existed in Clement's time. We are not, let it be observed, arguing for or against the use of wine: we do not enter into any argument on the question; we are simply, and because it comes in our way, giving Clement's views as a matter of history.

"'Water is the natural drink of man: this the Lord gave to the Israelites while they were wandering in the wilderness; though, when they came into their rest, the sacred vine brought forth the prophetic grape. Boys and girls ought to be confined strictly to water: wine heats the blood and inflames the passions.' Clement allows only bread, without any liquid, for breakfast or luncheon, to those who are in the flower of their age. At supper, he allows wine in small quantities.* 'They who are advanced in life may drink more freely, in order to warm their chilled blood: they must not, however, drink so much as will cloud their reason or affect their memory, or cause them to walk unsteadily.' These permissions and restrictions, Clement grounds on medical reasons. He quotes an author named Artorius, who wrote on longevity, and said that men ought only to drink enough to moisten their food. 'Wine may be used on two accounts, — for health and relaxation. Wine, drunk in moderation, softens the temper. As life consists of that which is necessary and that which is useful, wine, which is useful, should be mixed with water, which is necessary.' † After describing the effects of drunkenness, Clement proceeds to refute the opinion of those who contended that no serious subjects should be discussed over wine. He argues, that perfect wisdom, being the knowledge of things human and divine, comprehending everything in its superintendence of the human race, becomes, as it were, the art of life; and is always present through the whole of life, producing its proper effect — a good life. If, then, wisdom is driven away from our entertainments, drunkenness follows, with all its train of evils; of which Clement draws a picture, at once, to use his own expressions, ridiculous, and exciting pity. He compares the body of him who drinks to excess

* Clement's expression is, "In the evening, at the time of supper, wine is to be used, when we have laid aside our more serious studies." One reason he assigns is the chilliness of the air, and the failing warmth within, which requires to be restored. — *Pæd.*, lib. ii. c. 2, p. 179.

† "Both," says Clement, "are the works of God; and for that reason, the mixture of both water and wine is conducive to health." — *Pæd.*, lib. ii. c. 2, p. 180.

to a ship absorbed into the abyss of intemperance; while the helmsman, the understanding, is tossed about in the billows, and, dizzy amidst the darkness of the storm, misses the harbor of truth, steers towards that of pleasure, and, striking on sunken rocks, makes miserable shipwreck. 'Wine may be used in the winter to keep out the cold; at other seasons, to comfort the bowels. As we ought to drink only because we are thirsty, we ought not to be curious about wines. In drinking, as in eating, we must be careful not to show any indecent eagerness: we must not drink with so much haste as to hiccough, or spill the wine over our beard or dress.' Clement observes, that the most warlike nations were those most given to drinking. Christians, therefore, a peaceful race, should drink in moderation, as Christ drank when he was made man for us. In conclusion, Clement cautions females to be guarded in their manner of drinking, and not to fall into any indecency. In this chapter, Clement has borrowed much from Plato." — pp. 72–74.

Clement enumerates the foreign wines most in repute in his time, but thinks that native wines ought to satisfy a temperate man, and is very decided in his condemnation of all luxurious tastes and indulgences. The following passage, already alluded to, stands in connection with those quoted by Bishop Kaye: "How do you think the Lord drank, when for our sakes he became man? Immoderately as we? not with decorum? not temperately? not considerately? For be assured," he adds in opposition to the Encratites, who held wine in abhorrence, and even substituted water instead of it in the celebration of the Supper, — "be assured that he also partook of wine; for he also was man. And he blessed the wine, saying, 'Take, drink: this is my blood,' — the blood of the vine. And that those who drink should observe sobriety, he clearly showed; since he taught at feasts, which is the office of a sober man. And that it was wine which he blessed, is again evident from his saying to his disciples, 'I will not drink of the fruit of this vine until I drink it with you in the kingdom of my Father.' Moreover, that it was wine which our Lord drank, again appears from his observation respecting himself, when, upbraiding the Jews for their hardness of heart, he says, 'The Son of man came, and they say, Behold a gluttonous man and a winebibber, — a friend of publi-

cans!'"* This Clement thinks sufficient to refute the Encratites.

The third chapter of the "Pædagogue" is devoted to the consideration of drinking-cups, furniture, and articles of expensive luxury connected with the table. "In his food, his dress, his furniture," says Clement, "a Christian ought to preserve a decent consistency, according to his person, age, pursuits, and the particular occasion." "Wealth ill-directed," he says, is a "citadel of wickedness." The best wealth is poverty of desires; and true greatness consists, not on priding ourselves on wealth, but in despising it."

Clement treats, in the next chapter, on the proper conduct at convivial entertainments. The pipe and the flute he would have banished from these entertainments, as accompaniments of unholy revelry; yet he does not condemn music altogether, but allows the singing of praises to God to the lyre and the harp.

We then have a chapter on "laughter." Buffoons and imitators Clement would banish from Christian society, and whatever would indicate in ourselves a light and frivolous mind. "We may be facetious," says Clement, "but must not lay ourselves out to excite laughter." What is natural we must not attempt to eradicate, but only to restrain. "Man," says he, "is a laughing animal; but he must not always be laughing. Like rational animals, we must rightly temper our cares and anxieties by relaxing ourselves according to rule, and not by disregarding all rule." Clement describes the different species of laughter, distinguishes them by their names, and shows how and when it may be proper to indulge it. Thus, "we should not laugh in the presence of those older than ourselves, or whom we ought to reverence, unless they say something facetious to make us gay. We must not laugh with every one we meet, or in all places, or with all men, or at everything." Yet we must not, he says, wear a severe and morose countenance. He set a value on cheerfulness.

Clement proceeds in the remaining chapters to treat of "immodest speech"; of the rules to be observed by those

* *Paed.*, lib. ii. c. 2, p. 186.

who would conduct themselves generally with propriety; in doing which, he descends to the minutest particulars: and of garlands and ointments, the use of which he thinks unnecessary, and to be discouraged, as favoring luxury. He describes the several varieties of ointment most in esteem, and says that the makers of them, as well as "the dyers of wool," were banished from all well-regulated states. "Silly women," he says, "anoint their hair; of which the only effect is to render them gray at an earlier period than they would otherwise be." Flowers placed on the head, in garlands, he considers as perverted from their natural use. "The ancient Greeks wore no garlands; neither the suitors of Penelope, nor the luxurious Phæacians, wore them: they were introduced after the Persian War, and first worn by the victors at the games." Again: many of them were consecrated to Heathen divinities; and should not, therefore, says Clement, be worn by Christians; as the "rose to the Muses; the lily to Juno; the myrtle to Diana." — "It was the custom also," he observes, "to crown the statues of the gods; but the living image of God ought not to be adorned like a dead idol. A crown of amaranth is reserved for him who leads a holy life; a flower which the earth is not capable of bearing, and heaven alone produces." This conception is preserved by Milton: —

> "With solemn adoration, down they cast
> Their crowns inwove with amaranth and gold, —
> Immortal amaranth! a flower which once
> In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
> Began to bloom; but soon for man's offence
> To heaven removed, where first it grew, there grows."
>
> *Paradise Lost*, b. iii.

In another chapter, Clement delivers rules concerning sleep. The soul, he says, is active during the sleep of the body; and dreams afford the wisest counsels. Again: in a chapter purporting to be on the married life, he takes occasion to speak of the proprieties of dress, and particularly female dress; and enters minutely into a description of a lady's toilet. He condemns all extravagance, and a disposition to seek "the rare and expensive in preference to that which is at hand and of low price." He will not allow ladies to wear "dyed gar-

ments"; but he insists on the use of veils, which must not be purple to attract the gaze of men. A chapter follows on covering for the feet, as sandals and slippers, on which it was customary to bestow great expense; and another, on ornaments of gold and precious stones. On this subject, it seems, the ladies of Alexandria did not unresistingly submit. They ventured to argue the case with the holy Father. "Why," say they, "should we not use what God has given? Why should we not take pleasure in that we have? For whom were precious stones intended, if not for us?" This was bringing the argument home: but Clement found means to reply, by pointing out the distinction between what is necessary, as water and air, and lies open to all; and what is not necessary, as gold and pearls, which lie concealed beneath the earth and water, and are brought up by criminals, who are "set to dig for them." Other arguments he employs. But the advocates for the use of ornaments rejoin, "If all are to select the common and frugal, who is to possess the more expensive and magnificent?" To this Clement replies, somewhat obscurely and clumsily, by a reference to what it may be proper for men to use, if they avoid setting too high a value on it, and contracting too great a fondness for it. He concludes the discussion by objecting to particular articles of female ornament, or ornaments of a particular form; that of the serpent, for example, which was the form under which Satan tempted Eve, and therefore to be abjured.

The third book of the "Pædagogue" is in a similar strain. The first question Clement proceeds to discuss is, in what true beauty consists. He speaks of the folly of anxiety to adorn the outward man, while the inward man is neglected; he dwells on the mischievous consequence of a love of dress, and inveighs against a multitude of female fashions. The use of mirrors especially moves his indignation. The reason he assigns against the use of them is curious enough. Every woman who looks in the glass makes her "own likeness by reflection"; and Moses has forbidden "to make any likeness in opposition, as it were, to the workmanship of God." *

* False hair was on no account to be worn by a woman; and one reason was, that the priest, in blessing her, would lay his hand, not on her head, but on the hair of another, and, through it, on another head.

The "fine gentlemen" of the day are next "served up." Among other things which Clement could not abide were the attempts made to conceal the effects of age. "They think," says he, "that, like snakes, they can cast off old age from their heads, and make themselves young." For this purpose, they were accustomed, it seems, to dye the hair; which Clement thought was absolutely intolerable, because it was in direct contradiction of the Saviour, who said that man could not make one hair of his head white or black! Clement, too, had the true Oriental veneration for a beard. He condemns shaving altogether. "The beard," he says, "is older than Eve, and the sign of a superior nature." The number of servants maintained by the rich, and the sums expended on dogs, monkeys, and birds, is a subject of very grave remonstrance. The picture he draws of the morals of the day, and particularly of female morals, is really appalling. Bathing establishments, as conducted at the time, come in for a share of his censure; justly, no doubt. The use of wealth is treated of; and much is said in favor of modesty, frugality, temperance, and simplicity in habits and dress. Women are allowed more liberty in the last particular, as they are compelled to study dress to please their husbands; but they should endeavor, says Clement, to bring their husbands to a better mind. By showing too much attention to ornament, they cast a reflection on their Creator, as if he had not sufficiently adorned them. Men are allowed to wear rings only on their little finger. The emblems on our rings should be a dove, or a fish, or a ship sailing before the wind, or a lyre, or an anchor; not the figure of an idol, which a Christian is forbidden to reverence; or a sword or a bow, ill suited to a follower of peace; or a cup, ill suited to the temperate; still less a naked figure. Clement notices with disapprobation the lounging habits of some in his time. "Men," he says, "ought not to waste their time in shops, in order to look at the females as they pass;" which, it seems, was the custom of idlers in his day.

We cannot dwell longer on this work of Clement; nor can we stop to describe the feelings with which one rises from its perusal. They are certainly feelings of reverence for Christianity, which is here presented, contending as an antagonist

principle with deep-seated depravity and sin. In attempting to reform the Alexandrians, Clement had undertaken a Herculean labor; and, notwithstanding the puerility and absurdity of many of his precepts and distinctions, there was a dignity, a consciousness of strength and moral purity, in his bearing, a loftiness of aim and earnestness of performance, which must command the respect and admiration of every honest mind, and pleads eloquently for the Christian cause. As writers, the Fathers have been greatly overrated; the value of their opinions has been exaggerated: but as champions of Christianity, contending manfully and unhesitatingly with the power of the whole Pagan world, the power of the sword, the power of superstition, wit, and ridicule against them; the champions of a pure and inflexible morality in ages of extreme degeneracy and corruption; the defenders of a faith which recognized the principle of human brotherhood as the germ of all social duty, and inculcated a spirit of self-sacrifice and benevolence as constituting the only sure test of discipleship; a faith, under the banner of which they cheerfully met death, and often a death by violence, and left traces of their toil and blood on every soil, — no tribute of veneration we can render them can exceed their merits. To their spirit of noble courage it is to be attributed, under Providence, that Christianity was not crushed in its infancy; through them its blessings have been bequeathed to us; their labors purchased our peace, their sufferings our consolation, their martyrdom our hope; and, to turn on them a look of contempt on account of some superstitious weaknesses which belonged to the age, or were the result of their Pagan education, and which, on emerging from the night of Heathen darkness, they had not the strength at once to throw off, argues, we think, — if the effect is not to be ascribed to want of reflection, — a degree either of illiberality of mind or of heartlessness, which constitutes no enviable distinction.

CHAPTER IV.

CLEMENT'S STROMATA: ITS CHARACTER. — MYSTERIES AND ALLEGORIES. CLEMENT'S IDEA OF THE TRUE GNOSTIC, OR PERFECT CHRISTIAN. — KNOWLEDGE. — MOTIVES. — GRAND CONCEPTIONS OF GOD. — PRAYER. THE WHOLE LIFE A FESTIVAL. — SPIRITUALITY.

THE last considerable work of Clement which has escaped the devouring tooth of Time, and the largest of the three, is the "Stromata." Even this has not wholly escaped; for a fragment is wanting at the beginning, and the last book is maimed or imperfect. The work is wholly unlike either of the two preceding. It is, in fact, a book of miscellanies. "Peace be with the soul of that charitable and courteous author, who, for the common benefit of his fellow-authors, introduced the ingenious way of miscellaneous writing!" The words are Shaftesbury's. We believe, however, that Clement is not entitled to the honor of inventing the "miscellany." Plutarch, it seems, wrote a work, with the title of "Stromata," before him. Origen, after him, wrote one, which Jerome quotes by the same title. The "Stromata" of Clement is intended to be a sort of repository of choice things. It contains a collection of thoughts on a great variety of subjects, put down with little or no regard to connection or method. Du Pin compares it to a "Turkey-work carpet"; and Clement himself, to a "garden, meadow, or wood, containing all sorts of herbs, fruit, flowers, from which each one may cull what he likes. It resembles," he says in another place, "not a garden laid out with symmetry to please the eye, but rather a thick and shady mountain, in which a multitude of trees (as the cypress, the linden, the laurel, the apple, olive and fig, and others) stand in one blended mass. The confusion which reigns through it," he says, "is designed, as he writes partly for the initiated and partly for the vulgar: for all sorts of knowledge are not suited to all, and the skilful will be able to select from the work what is valuable, and reject the worth-

less; while the unskilful will not be injured by that of the use of which he is ignorant: just as, in the mountain forest alluded to, the laborer or adept will know where to find the trees loaded with fruit, which will remain concealed from those who would rifle them."

The work is divided into eight books. We are not about to tax the patience of ourselves or of our readers by attempting to give a minute account of its contents. The following subjects among others are introduced in the first book: The benefits writers confer on their readers; Clement's apology for making so free a use of the writings of philosophers; against sophists, and pretenders to useless science; human arts, not less than a knowledge of divine things, derived from God; philosophy, the handmaid of theology; virtue depends on culture, and is aided by learning; philosophy conducts to Christ and to virtue, — philosophy not of a particular sect, but eclecticism; the sophistical and other arts, conversant with words only, useless; human science necessary to the right understanding of the Scriptures;* we should be more solicitous to do than to speak well; the wisdom of this world, and the philosophy which the Apostle commands us to shun; the mysteries of faith are not to be promulgated to every one, since all are not fit auditors of the truth; of the various sects of philosophers, no one possesses the whole truth, but each a portion of it; succession of philosophers among the Greeks; Grecian philosophy derived mostly from the Barbarians; other arts traced to the same source; in what sense the Greek philosophers, coming before Christ, may be called "thieves and robbers"; how philosophy aids the comprehension of divine truth; the laws and institutions of Moses more ancient than the Greek philosophy and the sources of it; the Greeks derived not only philosophy, but the military art also, from Moses; the Greeks were children in respect to the Hebrews and their institutions.

The second book treats of various questions relating to faith,

* "It is true," Clement says, "the Apostles were unlearned; but they were guided by the Spirit. *We* can only arrive at the right understanding of the sacred volume by study and the usual modes of instruction." (See Kaye's *Clement*, p. 119.)

its nature and end; of the use made of fear under the Mosaic dispensation, to which, it seems, Basilides and Valentinus objected; of repentance of two kinds; of hope and fear; of the manner in which those passages of Scripture are to be understood which ascribe human affections to God; of the laws of Moses, as the source whence the Greeks derived their whole knowledge of ethics; of other things pilfered by the Greeks from the sacred writers; of marriage. This is defended in the third book against various heretics, who, for different reasons, condemned it.

The fourth book contains the praises of martyrdom, with various observations on Christian perfection, or true Gnosticism; of which, however, the voluntary offering one's self a candidate for martyrdom constituted no part.

The prevailing topic of the fifth book is mysteries and allegories, in which religious truths have been wrapped up among almost all nations, being divulged only to the initiated. "Thus it was," Clement says, "among the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and the Greeks." Obscurity was sometimes affected to stimulate curiosity, and excite to diligence. The apothegms of the wise men of Greece exhibit truth under a kind of veil, being delivered in a symbolical or enigmatical dress: as, for example, that communicated by Pythagoras to his disciples, "not to sail on dry land;" which, according to Clement, contained a caution not to engage in public life. Clement, too, instances the Egyptian hieroglyphics, in the celebrated passage to which the attention of the public has been directed by recent labors of the learned, and particularly by the discoveries of Champollion.* The "Ephesian Letters" were another example. This symbolical mode of instruction Clement regarded as favorable to "sound theology, to piety, to the manifestation of intelligence and wisdom, and to the cultivation of brevity." Truth, he thinks, appears "more grand and awful" by having the veil of mystery thrown around it. "Symbols also, being susceptible of various interpretations, exercise the ingenuity, and distinguish the ignorant man from the Gnostic." Then, as before said, he thinks that all doctrines ought not to be revealed to all, as all are not

* *Stromata*, lib. v. c. 4, p. 657.

capable of receiving them. There must be milk for babes, and solid food for grown men. Milk is catechetical instruction, the first nourishment of the soul: solid food is contemplation, penetrating all mysteries. Christ himself imparted secret doctrines to the few; and "the arcana," or mysteries, says Clement, "are committed to speech, and not to writing."* Towards the close of the fifth book, Clement returns with vigor to his old charge against the Greek philosophers, of having stolen all that was valuable of what they taught from the Hebrew Scriptures; though they had not always the sense to understand what they stole, and often disfigured it by their absurd commentaries and speculations.

There is one subject treated of somewhat at large in the "Stromata," and to which the sixth and seventh books especially are devoted, which, as connected with the history of opinions, is not destitute of interest, and which seems deserving of a more particular notice. We are so accustomed to think and speak of the Gnostics as a heretical sect or sects, that it hardly occurs to us that the term was ever used by the Fathers in a good sense. Yet so it was. There was the true or Christian Gnostic, and the philosophical or heretical Gnostic. Clement attempts to draw a portrait of the former; in doing which, he gives what, in his view, constituted the beautiful ideal, or finished conception of the perfect Christian, corresponding to the wise man of the Stoics, from which some features of the portrait are evidently borrowed.

We know not whether we shall succeed in so bringing together Clement's materials as to present to our readers a distinct image on a sufficiently reduced scale. The task is no easy one; for, besides that we must study brevity as much as possible, Clement's description is in many respects loose and disjointed, and we must collect and unite in juxtaposition the scattered members as we can. However, we will do our best.

Who, then, is the true or Christian Gnostic? To what does he aim? and how attain the perfection he seeks? In what does he differ from the common believer, in regard to knowledge, in regard to the motives of action, the desires and affections, the discharge of the moral and social duties,

* *Stromata*, lib. i. c. 1, p. 323.

his piety and devotions, and the general complexion of his life?

The highest point of Gnostic perfection — that at which he constantly aims, and which is to constitute the consummation of his felicity in heaven — is the contemplation of God; for the true Gnostic dwells much in contemplation, and, through knowledge and love, is to rise at last to the condition of seeing God face to face. According to an expression of Plato, he contemplates the unseen God now; and is already, as it were, an angel, "a god walking in the flesh." He attains not this perfection at once, but by degrees and through long discipline. His progress is from faith to knowledge; and knowledge, perfected by love, elevates him to the likeness of God. His final state is "perpetual contemplation of God." In this consists his blessedness. The Gnostic soul, in the grandeur of contemplation, "passes beyond the state of the several holy orders, with reference to which the blessed mansions of the gods are allotted, and, advancing continually from better to better places, embraces, not the divine contemplation in a mirror or through a glass, but feasts eternally upon the vision in all its clearness, — that vision with which the soul, smitten with boundless love, can never be satiated; and enjoys inexhaustible gladness for endless ages, honored by a permanent continuance in all excellence." *

The Gnostic Christian differs from the common believer in several respects. First, in knowledge. The ordinary Christian has faith; the heretical Christian, opinion: but the true Gnostic, or perfect Christian, has passed beyond faith and opinion to knowledge and certainty. With him, truth, unmixed with error, is a direct object of perception; and he sees in it all its native lustre. His knowledge, however, is derived through faith; for faith is the foundation on which the Gnostic edifice is reared: but knowledge is superior to faith; and this is his distinguishing possession. This knowledge Clement makes almost boundless. It is "conversant with things beyond the world, the objects of the intellect, and even with things more spiritual, which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor had it entered into the heart of man to conceive,

* *Stromata*, lib. vii. c. 3, p. 835; Kaye's *Clement*, pp. 254, 255.

until our Teacher revealed the truth concerning them to us. For we affirm that the Gnostic knows and comprehends all things, — even those which pass our knowledge: such were James, Peter, John, Paul, and the other Apostles." * — "Knowledge is a contemplation by the soul of one or more existing things, — perfect knowledge of all." The Gnostic, and he alone, knows God: he comprehends the first Cause, and the Cause begotten by him, and all revelation of divine truth from the foundation of the world. These revelations embrace, not only written doctrine, but unwritten tradition, sometimes called by Clement Gnostic tradition, which was committed to the above-named Apostles, to be by them communicated to their successors in the Church. "It was not designed for the multitude, but communicated to those only who were capable of receiving it; orally, not by writing." This knowledge, Clement says, must be cautiously imparted. The Gnostic, too, possesses the spiritual and hidden meaning of the Scriptures, and penetrates the mystical sense of the Ten Commandments. He is versed in all common learning, — arithmetic, geometry, physiology, music, astronomy, and especially logic; for "though the principal end of man's creation is that he may know God, yet he cultivates the earth and measures it, — and studies philosophy that he may live, and live well, and meditate on those subjects which admit of demonstration."

* Kaye's *Clement*, p. 192. In another place, Clement says that the true Gnostic, or perfect Christian, may be numbered with the Apostles. Peter, James, John, and Paul were the first four, and the greatest Gnostics. The first three were with Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration, and were treated by him with peculiar distinction; and Paul affirms that he received all things from immediate revelation. The last named was supposed to allude to the Gnostic tradition or discipline, when he speaks of the wish to communicate to the Romans, in person, some spiritual gifts which he could not impart in writing; and when, addressing the Corinthian converts, he says that he could not speak unto them as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal. In what this esoteric instruction, in the opinion of the Fathers to be transmitted orally, consisted, does not clearly appear, except that it pertained to the formation of the Gnostic, or perfect character, and to a more full knowledge of mysteries, and the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures, than was befitting the common ear. The belief of it among the Fathers is to be traced, we conceive, to that strange mixture of philosophy with religion which took place on the conversion of the later Platonists to Christianity.

The Gnostic, too, differs from the common believer in regard to the motives of action. Every action of the Gnostic is perfect, being performed according to reason and knowledge; those of the common believer, not being so performed, are of a middle nature; while those of the Heathen are positively sinful, wanting the right motive and object. The ordinary Christian is influenced by fear, or hope of reward. Not so the Gnostic: he does good "through love, and because he chooses it for itself." In seeking the knowledge of God, he has no reference to any consequences which are to flow from its attainment: "the knowledge alone is the motive of his contemplation." "Were the choice proposed to him, either to know God or to obtain eternal salvation (on the supposition that the two could be separated), he would choose the former." Again: "The Gnostic, if he could obtain permission of God to do what is forbidden, and be exempt from punishment; or if he could receive the happiness of the blessed as a reward for doing it; or if it even were possible for him to be persuaded that he could escape the eye of God, — would do nothing contrary to right reason, having once chosen that which is fair and eligible, and desirable for itself."* The distinction is further illustrated in the case of martyrdom, to which the common Christian submits from fear, or hope of reward; the Gnostic, or perfect Christian, through love. There is a difference in actions as "performed through fear or perfected in love"; and, consequently, the Gnostic will be more highly rewarded than the simple believer. Dishonor, exile, poverty, death, cannot wrest from him "liberty and a prevailing love towards God, which bides all things and endures all things; for love is persuaded that the Divine Providence orders all things well." We pass through fear, by which we are led to abstain from injustice, and through hope, by which we aim at what is right, to love, which perfects us, instructing us through knowledge (gnostically).

Next, as respects the passions and desires. The characteristic of the Gnostic is, not moderation of the passions, but exemption from them. He retains those appetites necessary

* Kaye's *Clement*, pp. 169, 170.

to the preservation of the body; as hunger, thirst, and others.* But passion and desire are wholly eradicated from his breast. He is not subject to pleasure or pain, to fear or to anger. "To have passions which require to be controlled, is not to be in a state of purity." Even those emotions which have a semblance of good, as "boldness, emulation, joy," are not felt by the true Gnostic. Clement will not allow that the perfect man desires even good. He says, in the true spirit of mysticism, that "divine love," by which the Gnostic is distinguished, "is not a desire on the part of him who loves, but a possession of the object loved. The Gnostic, by love, has already attained to that in which he is to be: he anticipates hope through knowledge; he desires nothing, because he already possesses, as far as it is possible, the object of desire." †

The Gnostic discharges faithfully all the moral and social duties, and is particularly active in doing good. "His first object is to render, first himself, then his neighbors, as good as possible." To this end he is ready to instruct them, especially in the way of salvation. He freely forgives injuries, and cherishes malice against none. He freely parts with money to those who have need. He adheres inflexibly to truth and sincerity at every cost. He refuses to take an oath, for his whole life is an oath. From moderating his passions, and finally from exemption from passion, he advances to the "well-doing of Gnostic perfection"; and is, "even here, equal to an angel, — shining like the sun by his beneficence."

The Gnostic is distinguished for the "surpassing greatness of his piety;" but his prayers differ in some respects from those of the common believer. "The Gnostic alone," says Clement, "is truly pious, and worships God in a manner worthy of God." He has grand and honorable conceptions of God, to whom he prays in thought, and not with the voice; for the language of God to him is, "Think, and I will give."

* From these appetites the Saviour was exempt, according to Clement. "He ate, but not for the body, which was held together by a holy power," but that he might be regarded by his followers as a real man, and not a man in appearance only.

† Kaye's *Clement*, p. 194.

He never fails of obtaining that for which he prays; for he prays with knowledge and discrimination. "His confidence that he shall obtain that for which he asks, constitutes in itself a species of prayer." "He prays for the permanent possession of that which is really good, — the good of the soul"; "prays for perfect love"; "prays that he may grow and abide in contemplation; prays that he may never fall away from virtue." "At the same time he prays, he himself labors after perfection; for he who holds intercourse with God must have a pure and spotless soul." Prayer, united with righteousness, the Gnostic considers as the "best and holiest sacrifice." "The really holy altar is the righteous soul." "He does not," says Clement, "pray only in certain places and at stated times, but makes his whole life a continued act of prayer. He knows that he is always in the presence of God; and whatever the occupation in which he is engaged, whether he is tilling the ground or sailing on the sea, he sings, and gives thanks to God." Again: "His whole life is a holy festival; his sacrifices are prayers and praises, and reading of the Scriptures before meals; psalms and hymns during meals, and before he retires to rest; prayers again during the night." He is "the truly kingly man"; he is "the holy priest of God." "He admits not even in his dreams that which is said or done or seen for the sake of pleasure. He neither gratifies his smell with expensive perfumes, nor his taste with exquisite dishes, and variety of wines; he renders not his soul effeminate by wreaths of fragrant flowers." * Such, according to Clement, is the perfect Christian, or true Gnostic, as distinguished from the common believer.

We are indebted to Clement for no inconsiderable part of the knowledge we possess of the several sects of heretical Gnostics. But we have, at present, no space to devote to these sects, were we disposed to enter on the subject. Of all the heresies which sprung up in the bosom of the early Church, Gnosticism, from the conspicuous part it long played, the loftiness of its pretensions, the learning and skill of several of its chiefs, and the traces it left behind, and which remained long

* See Kaye's *Clement*, pp. 211–218, 247–249.

visible after the system itself had crumbled away and disappeared, furnishes most matter of curiosity and wonder, and presents the strongest claim to the attention of the philosophical inquirer. Some of its fables have a charm for us. In their origin, the Gnostics were the purists, the spiritualists, the dreamers, of their day: but, in their speculations, were wild, hardy, reckless; yet, withal, dogmatists of the first water. They occasionally delight us with ingenious fictions and beautiful and significant allegories; but, in our attempts to follow them, we soon find ourselves involved in intricate and precipitous passes, over which broods a darkness that may be felt.

We conclude with a quotation which might, perhaps, have been more appropriately introduced in connection with the passage, a part of which we extracted in our second chapter, in which Clement compares Jesus Christ, and the effects he wrought, to the Grecian Orpheus and his wonder-working music.* The language and the sentiment of the quotation, in themselves sufficiently remarkable, will present, to those who are fond of tracing analogies and resemblances, matter of somewhat curious speculation, from their coincidence, singular enough if accidental, with those of the old Father. In truth, the wayward and fantastic genius to which we owe that unique work, "Sartor Resartus," — for from that we quote, — has but given us Clement in a different dress. "Were it not wonderful," this is its language, "for instance, had Orpheus built the walls of Thebes by the mere sound of his lyre? Yet tell me, who built these walls of Weissnichtwo, summoning out all the sandstone rocks to dance along from the Steinbruch (now a huge troglodyte chasm, with frightful, green-mantled pools), and shape themselves into Doric and Ionic pillars, squared ashlar houses, and noble streets? Was it not the still higher Orpheus, or Orpheuses, who in past centuries, by the divine music of wisdom, succeeded in civilizing man? Our highest Orpheus walked in Judea, eighteen hundred years ago. His sphere-melody, flowing in wild native tones,

* The comparison (of Christ to Orpheus) appears also in works of Christian art. Thus in the Catacombs, Christ is represented in paintings in the form of this old master of song, holding the lyre in his hand.

took captive the ravished souls of men; and being, of a truth, sphere-melody, still flows and sounds, though now with thousand-fold accompaniments and rich symphonies, through all our hearts, and modulates and divinely leads them." *

* Pp. 264, 265.

ORIGEN, AND HIS THEOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

THE ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY. — BIRTH AND PARENTAGE OF ORIGEN. — HIS CHILDHOOD. — HE PANTS FOR THE HONORS OF MARTYRDOM. — REDUCED TO POVERTY, AND BECOMES A TEACHER. — AT THE HEAD OF THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL. — HIS SELF-DENIAL. — HIS STUDIES. — BIBLICAL CRITICISM. — WORTH OF SECULAR LEARNING.

WE must detain our readers a little longer in the land of the Pyramids and the Nile, whither we recently went to pass a little time in companionship with Clement, contemplating the state of things there at that period, and looking at his defences of Christianity and his theology, at the habits and life of the Alexandrians of his day, and at his idea or conception of the perfect Christian. We alluded to one of his pupils, — a greater than he. This was Origen, one of the most eminent of the early Fathers, not only for his intellectual gifts and attainments, but also on account of the influence of his opinions on subsequent ages, and the violent controversies to which they gave rise, — controversies which continued down to modern times. He had a brilliant reputation in his day, and his substantial merits and the prestige of his name entitle him to a prominent place in Christian biography. What was said in connection with Clement of the speculative character of the Greek mind, and the condition of theology at Alexandria, late in the second and early in the third centuries, must be borne in mind by those who would comprehend fully the position, labors, and merits of Origen. The materials for his life are far more copious than for that of Justin Martyr or Clement.

Origen, called Adamantius, or the Adamantine, from his "iron diligence" and almost incredible labors, or, as others

say, from the irrefragable strength of his arguments, was a native, as is generally supposed, of Alexandria, — certainly of Egypt. Unlike Justin and Clement, who were born and educated Heathens, he was of Christian parentage. He was born in the year 185 or 186; and, while yet a child, exhibited that patience of labor, inquisitive spirit, and ardor, which marked the future man. He was an example of extraordinary precocity, which led Jerome to call him a "great man from his infancy." His father was Leonides, an earnest Christian, and, as we are told, a teacher of rhetoric. He gave his son a thorough literary education, instructing him in the rudiments of the sciences, but especially directing his attention to a study of the Scriptures, a portion of which he every day committed to memory, often perplexing his father with deep questions about the sense. For this, the father made show of chiding him, and told him that he must remain satisfied with the plain and obvious meaning of what he read, and not engage in researches beyond his years. But the overflowings of parental affection could not be repressed; and the happy father, restrained by a sense of duty to his child from manifesting all he felt, was accustomed to avail himself of the opportunity, while he slept, of repairing to his couch; and, bending over him, would kiss his breast, in reverence for the divine spirit which lay enshrined there.

Eusebius, who has preserved some notices* of his life, gathered, as he informs us, partly from his letters and partly from the reports of his pupils (of whom some still survived to his day), dwells at some length on the evidences of piety and zeal in the cause of Christianity exhibited by the youthful Origen. He was warm and enthusiastic; and, even in childhood, the zeal of a martyr burned in his breast. Persecution now raged at Alexandria, and it was with difficulty that he could be prevented from imperilling his life. When his father was thrown into prison, he was eager to go and die with him; and was prevented, at last, only by a stratagem of his mother. Alarmed for his safety, she used every method of remonstrance and entreaty to inspire him with reserve and caution. In vain she urged a mother's love. In despair of other means, she at

* *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vi.

last resorted to the artifice of hiding his clothes; in consequence of which, he was compelled to remain at home. Thus debarred the privilege of visiting his father in prison, he composed and sent him a letter full of noble and elevated sentiments on the subject of martyrdom, and especially urging him to constancy. The letter has perished; but a single sentence of it, preserved by Eusebius, sufficiently indicates the strain in which it was written. "Beware that you do not change your purpose on account of us!" Leonides remained firm; and by his death (A. D. 202), and the confiscation of his goods which followed, Origen, at about seventeen years of age, with six brothers and his now widowed mother, was reduced at once to extreme poverty.* How the mother and younger children fared; how they struggled through and finished the great battle of life, — serious to them as it has been to multitudes since, — we are not told. They are now dropped from the narrative, which follows the fortunes of the eldest son.

A youth of such promise — ardent, noble, and full of aspiration — could not be long without friends. A lady of great wealth and high standing at Alexandria received him to her house, and generously provided for his wants. But she had another guest (one Paul of Antioch), whom she had adopted as her son, and whom she allowed to give lectures in her house. He was a man of some celebrity, according to Eusebius; but, unfortunately, an arch-heretic. Yet such were the charms of his eloquence, that his society was generally sought; and multitudes pressed to hear his discourses, — heretics among the rest. But Origen, having been from a child "sound in the faith" himself, and "abominating all heretical doctrines," says the historian just referred to, could never be induced to unite with him in prayer.† In truth, he could not endure the man, who was probably a Gnostic. Whether his aversion to Paul induced him voluntarily to withdraw, or his departure is to be attributed to some other cause, certain it is, that he soon left his patroness, and supported himself by teaching grammar and the studies connected with it, to which he added instruction in Christianity to such of the Pagans as desired it. For this task he was well qualified by the pious care of his father and his

* Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 54. † *Hist.*, vi. 2.

own studious habits, and from having been, when a boy, a pupil of Clement, who for several years presided over the Christian School at Alexandria, with no ordinary fame. Clement, however, had now retired or been driven from the province; and the most eminent Christians having been put to death, or dispersed by the terrors of the persecution, the catechetical chair remained vacant. At this time, Origen, being now in his eighteenth year, consented to occupy it,* surrounded as it was with danger; and was afterwards, as Jerome informs us, confirmed in the office of catechist by Demetrius, his bishop.† Of his early pupils, several, in a short time, obtained the honors of martyrdom, — some while yet receiving the rudiments of Christianity. Among the latter was a female by the name of Herais, who, to use Origen's expression, "received baptism by fire."

That the youthful and ardent Origen escaped with his life, appears almost miraculous; for his labors in the cause of Christianity were open and unremitted. He continued to make converts; and, when they were apprehended and thrown into prison, he sought them out, and afforded them the consolation of his presence and conversation. He sometimes followed them to the place of execution, and was with them in their last moments. His boldness, indeed, seems to have been near costing him his life. He became an object of popular hatred, on account of the number of converts who resorted to his standard. For a time, he was hotly pursued: he fled from house to house for shelter; and, as Eusebius seems to intimate, was compelled to leave the city. If so, however, his absence was short. His sufferings served only to fan the flame of his piety; and the multitudes who were eager to listen to his eloquent expositions of the Christian faith daily augmented. About this time, he broke up his grammar-school, finding that his attention to his pupils interfered with his devotion to sacred learning, and with his duties as a teacher of religion. He also sold his library of Heathen authors, which is said to have been choice and extensive, for an annuity of about fivepence a day, to be paid by the purchaser. On this he subsisted for many years; subjecting himself to fatigue and

* Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 8. † *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 54.

labors during the day, and consuming the greater part of the night in study. He often slept on the earth, disdaining the effeminacy of a bed. He interpreted rigorously, to the letter, some of the precepts of our Saviour, which have been generally considered as either local and temporary, or as requiring to be somewhat modified in their application to practice. Among them were those in which he exhorts his disciples, as Eusebius expresses it, not to have two coats, nor to wear shoes. Another instance of his absurd compliance with the letter of the command, for which he afterwards blamed himself, is sufficiently well known. In fact, he imposed on himself the most severe restraints; going barefooted for many years, and abstaining from wine and all generous food. His friends were alarmed for the consequences, and begged him, with tears and grief for his apparent misery, to accept of their substance for the supply of his wants; but he persevered till symptoms of impaired health at length convinced him of his folly and danger.*

His ascetic and "philosophical course of life," as it is called, contributed to heighten the effect produced by his fervid genius and eloquence; and he obtained an unbounded popularity and influence.

At what period he listened to the instructions of Ammonius Saccas, the celebrated Platonic philosopher, we are not informed. It was probably not until some time after he had entered on his labors as master of the Catechetical School. That he was for some time his pupil, is expressly asserted by Porphyry, as quoted by Eusebius,† and may be inferred from a letter of Origen himself, part of which is preserved by the same historian. Among the disciples of Ammonius, however, there appears to have been another of the same name, who, as is generally admitted by the best modern critics, has been improperly confounded with Origen Adamantius. The latter had, no doubt, acquired a partiality for the Platonic philosophy, as then taught in Egypt, under his early preceptor, Clement. This partiality was confirmed in the school of Ammonius; from whom, and from the writings of Plato and other philosophers, which were now constantly in his hands, having imbibed, says

* Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 8. † *Hist.*, vi. 19.

Porphyry, the "allegorical mode of explaining the Grecian mysteries, he applied it to the Jewish Scriptures." Of his proficiency in the Platonic and Ammonian philosophy, however, and the unnatural and absurd expositions of the language of the Bible to which he and his fellow-laborers resorted in order to reduce its doctrines into harmony with that corrupt and fanciful system, we have testimony less exceptionable than that of Porphyry. But we shall have occasion to advert to this topic hereafter, especially in treating of the opinions of this celebrated Father.

After the death of Severus, Origen allowed himself the relaxation of a journey to Rome; having a desire, as he expresses it, to "see the most ancient church of the Romans." This journey, as Eusebius and Jerome inform us, took place while Zephyrinus was Bishop of Rome; that is, some time before the year 219. After a short stay, he returned to Alexandria, where he resumed his duties as catechist. Soon after this, the increasing multitude of inquirers and pupils — by which he was continually surrounded from morning till evening — made it necessary for him to engage an assistant. The person appointed to the office was Heraclas, formerly Origen's pupil, his fellow-student under Ammonius, and afterwards Bishop of Alexandria. Origen continued to give instruction in the more recondite doctrines to the higher classes, the task of teaching the simpler and more elementary principles being committed to his associate; who still, however, as Jerome tells us, continued to wear the philosopher's garb.

From this time, Origen devoted himself with great ardor to the study of the sacred writings; and, as a preparatory step, set about acquiring a knowledge of the Hebrew language. He is mentioned as the earliest among the Fathers who attempted to obtain an acquaintance with this language; and by "what he did in it," says Jerome, "acquired fame all over Greece." The taste of his nation and age opposed a barrier to acquisitions of this sort. The Hebrew language and literature bore among the Greeks the epithet *barbaric;* but Origen had the courage, in this instance, to despise the silly prejudices of the times. Though he never appears to have become a profound critic in Hebrew, and his knowledge

of it, compared with that of more modern scholars, was superficial and scanty, yet, taking into view the character of the age, we must allow that his efforts entitle him to no mean praise. With him originated what has since been called the science of biblical criticism. The Greek version of the Seventy, as it was called, was to Christians of his time what the English version of King James's translators is to common Christians of the present day. But errors had crept into the text; and Origen, as we shall hereafter see, applied his knowledge of Hebrew, whatever it was, to the very laudable purpose of removing them. This was the origin of the "Hexapla," for which he probably began to collect materials about this time.

The fame of Origen was now wide-spread; and it drew around him, as we are told, a multitude of heretics, and not a few Gentile philosophers, some of them men of repute: for, besides divinity, he at this time taught geometry, mathematics, and all parts of secular learning, embracing the tenets of the various philosophical sects; through which he conducted his hearers, commenting on the most distinguished writers of each sect, and explaining the principles of all. He thus obtained the reputation of a philosopher among the Pagans. He was an advocate for the study of philosophy and secular literature, thinking that they formed a good preparation for the investigation of divine truth. He therefore cheerfully received all who applied to him for instruction; hoping, while teaching them human science, to be able to convert them to the faith of Jesus. In this benevolent design he often succeeded. Many who afterwards became celebrated teachers of the church proceeded from his school, having been first won over to Christianity by his persuasive eloquence.

His devotion to philosophy did not escape censure. In a letter, he justifies his attention to secular learning, on the ground of its utility; for as many heretics and others, skilled in the Grecian philosophy, resorted to him, it seemed desirable, and almost a matter of necessity, that he should thoroughly investigate the principles of the several philosophical sects. He, moreover, appeals to examples; and, among others, to that of Pantænus, formerly president of the Catechetical

School. The taste for philosophy, thus introduced, was destined not to be soon extinct. A controversy for some years existed between the friends and enemies of philosophical studies; but the advocates of philosophy triumphed; and the consequence in this instance was, that the simplicity of the Christian faith was corrupted, and an infinity of errors flowed into the Church.

CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE OF AMBROSE. — ORIGEN'S IMMENSE LABORS. — HIS ARABIAN JOURNEY, AND VISIT TO PALESTINE. — RECEPTION BY THE PALESTINIAN BISHOPS. — ANGER OF DEMETRIUS. — ORIGEN'S JOURNEY TO GREECE. — ORDAINED IN PALESTINE. — DEMETRIUS CAUSES HIM TO BE DEPOSED AND EXCOMMUNICATED. — DEATH OF DEMETRIUS.

AMONG Origen's philosophical converts was the Gnostic Ambrose, whose acquaintance, soon ripening into the warmest friendship, was destined to exert a marked influence over his future pursuits. Ambrose was a man of wealth and rank. He was, says Jerome, "of a noble family, and of no mean and inelegant genius, as his letters to Origen testify." Eusebius calls him a Valentinian; others, a Marcionite; but, becoming a hearer of Adamantius, he was soon converted by him to the true faith, and afterwards greatly assisted in promoting his biblical studies. He devoted his wealth to his service in the purchase of manuscripts. He also furnished him with more than seven scribes, who should relieve each other as his amanuenses; and as many others, besides girls, who should transcribe in a fair hand what the first had hastily written from dictation. Origen calls him his "work-driver." His admiration of Origen was unbounded; and he urged him to consent to the publication of his writings, for the benefit of the world.

Origen, all this time, was undoubtedly overworked. The zeal of his friend he did not wish to outstrip his own. In a letter, he says that the collation of manuscripts left him no time to eat; and that, after meals, he could neither go out nor enjoy a season of rest. Even the night, he says, was not granted him for repose. His mind was tasked every hour. Along with the collation and correction of manuscripts procured him by the wealth of his friend, his "work-driver," he was writing commentaries, afterwards published, on the Old and New Testament, and producing other works; among which was that entitled "Of Principles," in which he mixed

up with Christian truth some wild philosophical speculations or Platonic extravagances, which afterwards, when the tide partially turned against him, gave him some trouble. He subsequently, in a letter to Fabian, Bishop of Rome, affirmed that there were some things contained in the book which he no longer approved, and that the work was published by his friend Ambrose against his will. Origen was a hasty writer, of a warm and prolific imagination; and, throwing off his productions at a heat, would be very likely to say things which his calmer judgment might condemn.

At this moment, his fortunes seemed at full tide. No voice appears to have been lifted against him, and his fame was filling all Christendom. Honors were ready to drop on his head; but, at the same moment, there was stirred up a spirit of envy and hatred; and he was about to taste the bitter cup of persecution, presented by Christian hands. Of this cup he drank copiously during his life; and, ages after his death, the storm of controversy beat on his memory, which was tossed, as it were, on a raging sea that knew no rest. The prelatical zealots were prepared to attack him; but private passions hastened the conflict.

There is one incident, however, we must mention, before we proceed to notice the effect of these passions, — Origen's Arabian journey. This was undertaken in compliance with letters from an Arabian prince, to whose ears his fame had penetrated. They were brought by a soldier, and addressed to Demetrius, his bishop, and to the Governor of Egypt, requesting that Origen might be sent to him to explain the Christian doctrines. This task accomplished, he returns to Egypt.*

The cruel Caracalla now filled the throne of the Cæsars; and having, as he conceived, some cause of displeasure against the Alexandrians, he resolved on their destruction, and unknown multitudes were slaughtered. Origen, finding his residence there now unsafe, yields to his long-cherished desire to visit his friends in Palestine, especially his old friend and fellow-student Alexander, now Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea. Here he took up his abode for a

* Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 19.

time. He was received with demonstrations of great respect, and was urged by the bishops to preach and expound the Scriptures publicly in their presence. With this request he complied, though he had not yet received ordination. This moved the wrath of Demetrius, the Alexandrian bishop, who was full of hierarchical pride, and was jealous of the brilliant fame of Origen; and he writes letters of remonstrance to the Palestinian bishops. It was irregular, he said, nay, was unheard of, that a layman should preach in the presence of bishops. The bishops of Palestine are not intimidated. They write back to him of Alexandria, telling him that he is in error, and specifying several instances which might be adduced in justification of themselves and of Origen. Demetrius is obliged to be quiet; but the arrow rankled in his breast. Origen is soon after recalled to Alexandria, and is allowed to resume his catechetical labors and his commentaries. He was at this time a little over thirty years of age.

Origen's next journey was into Greece; whither he was sent for the purpose of counteracting the designs of certain heretics then in high repute there. On his way, he visited Palestine; and while there, wholly unsolicited on his part, the bishops of Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and others of the province, ordained him presbyter, at the age of about forty-three or forty-four. Demetrius was outrageous at this second act of disrespect and insult, as he regarded it, to himself. Origen pursues his journey, during which he visits the schools of philosophy at Athens, and converses with the eminent sages found there. It was probably during this journey that he had the interview, mentioned by Eusebius, with Mammæa, mother of the emperor, Alexander Severus. Mammæa has been considered a Pagan; yet, being at Antioch, she felt a curiosity to see and converse with a man of whom she had heard so much; and she sent a military guard to insure his safety, and escort him to her presence.*

But he had now to return to Alexandria, and face his bishop, the angry Demetrius, who could never forget nor forgive the Palestinian ordination. No reconciliation can be effected; and Demetrius soon after assembles a synod, composed of his own

* Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 21; Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 54.

presbyters and of other Egyptian bishops, who proceed to deprive Origen of the rank of presbyter, and prohibit him from ever after exercising the office of teacher in the Alexandrian church. Origen remains awhile at Alexandria, then bids adieu to the city forever, and takes refuge with his friends in Palestine. But the hatred of Demetrius still pursues him. Turning over the writings of Origen, especially his book "Of Principles," just referred to, he now snuffs, or affects to snuff, the taint of heresy in some of the writer's idealistic speculations; on which he assembles a larger synod of Egyptian bishops, who cut off Origen from the communion of the Church, and issue against him a violent invective.

Behold now the most celebrated scholar, biblical critic, and commentator of his times, — who knew more than all his persecutors combined, and performed more labor in the cause of Christianity than any dozen of them put together, — behold him now an excommunicated man. His heresy served well enough for a pretext; but it was not the cause of his persecution at this time. Hear what the very learned and orthodox Jerome says on the subject, about a hundred and fifty years after Origen's death. Alluding to the proceedings against him at Alexandria, he says that he was condemned, "not on account of the novelty of his dogmas; not on account of heresy, for which he is now barked at by the rabid dogs; but because they could not endure the fame of his eloquence and learning." *

Demetrius wrote letters to the bishops everywhere, loading Origen with execrations, and endeavoring to render his name a byword and a reproach in all Christian lands. But this was more than he could accomplish. It is true, the West, generally, declared against him, — even Rome itself; such was the deference shown at that time to the see of Alexandria. But the Bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, as also those of Arabia, Phœnicia, and Greece, the old friends of Origen, still adhered to him, despising the anathemas of the synods of Egypt. In these several provinces, Origen was still allowed to discharge the functions of priest.

Demetrius did not long survive to enjoy his triumphs or

* *Epist.* 29, ad Paulam.

mourn over his defeat. He died soon after Origen had bidden adieu to Alexandria, and was succeeded in the bishopric by Heraclas, who was promoted to that office, as Eusebius tells us,* on account of his deep knowledge of Pagan literature and philosophy; a circumstance which shows the esteem in which secular learning was then held by the Alexandrian Christians. Heraclas, we have said, was the pupil and friend of Origen; and he had succeeded him, before he was made bishop, in the Catechetical School. But, notwithstanding his regard for his old preceptor, — now the most celebrated man of the age, — the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the synod was not revoked during his life; nor by his successor, Dionysius, also one of Origen's scholars; and Origen was ever, therefore, regarded by the Egyptians as an excommunicated person.

The reasons for his excommunication, and the sole reasons, are given above. He was charged with no immorality. The story, set afloat some time after, that he had consented in an evil hour to offer incense to idols, and that the contempt and ridicule which this act of wickedness brought on him compelled him to leave Egypt, is entitled to no credit. It is related by Epiphanius, a very credulous writer of the fourth century; and seems to have been invented by the enemies of Origen, some years after his death. The story is in itself, and in the several circumstances which attend it, highly improbable; it is alluded to by none of the more ancient writers, even those most hostile to the fame of Origen, and is utterly at variance with the testimony of Eusebius, Jerome, and other writers entitled to most respect. There is a better anecdote related of him by Epiphanius. At a certain time, the Pagans seized him, and, dressing him up in the robes of a priest of Serapis, conducted him to the steps of the temple. They then put palm-leaves into his hands, commanding him to present them to those who entered. He accepted the offerings; but on presenting them boldly said, "Accept not the idol's palm, but the palm of Christ." †

* Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 31. † Epiphan. *Hær.*, lxiv. 1.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGEN RETIRES TO PALESTINE. — NEW PUPILS. — HIS CRITICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES. — IMPRISONED, AND PUT TO THE RACK. — DIES AT TYRE. — HIS GENIUS AND CHARACTER. — QUESTION OF HIS SALVATION. — MERITS AND DEFECTS AS A WRITER, CRITIC, AND EXPOSITOR.

ORIGEN left Egypt soon after the year 230, when a little more than forty-five years of age. He retired to Cæsarea in Palestine, where he continued to preach with the approbation of the bishops of the province. Here, as in Egypt, a crowd of young men gathered around him, who, warmed by his enthusiasm and instructed by his learning, afterwards became eminent teachers in the church. Among them were Gregory, called Thaumaturgus, *the Wonder-worker*, and his brother, Athenodorus. They are described by Eusebius as having been passionately fond of the Roman and Greek learning. The former was engaged in the study of the Roman law, at Cæsarea, where he became acquainted with Origen; by whose winning eloquence he was induced to abandon it, and transfer his affections to divinity. He was accompanied by his brother. They remained five years with Origen; and afterwards became, while yet young, bishops in Pontus, their native country.* Thus was Origen's expulsion from Egypt the means of exalting his fame and extending the sphere of his usefulness.

* Thaumaturgus has left sufficient testimony of his veneration and love of Origen, in a "Panegyrical Oration" which he delivered on his departure; a somewhat extravagant and inflated performance, but interesting from the subject, and the occasion on which it was delivered. It was pronounced, it seems, in the presence of Origen, and is a lofty encomium on his merits; written, however, with warmth, and apparently with great sincerity of feeling. The circumstances which led to the first interview of his pupils with him, his efforts to detain them, his bland and insinuating eloquence, his animated description of the nature and end of true philosophy, his praises of it, his benignant temper, his urbanity and modesty, by all which their admiration was awakened and their affections won; their resolution to abandon their former studies, and remain with this fascinating man; the method he pursued

Origen now pursued his design of writing commentaries, being engaged, as Eusebius tells us, on Isaiah and Ezekiel. The latter were finished some time after at Athens. He had previously, as we have seen, while at Alexandria, written his book "De Principiis"; to which we may add his "Stromata," in imitation of Clement; and parts of his expositions on Genesis and on the Gospel of John.*

During the persecution under Maximin, A. D. 235, he appears to have consulted his safety by withdrawing himself from Palestine. It was at this time, probably, that he accepted the invitation of Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, to visit that place. He remained there some time, employed on his "Hexapla." For two years he was concealed in the house of a wealthy lady by the name of Juliana; from whom he received some manuscripts very important to him in his critical labors, undertaken, as before said, for the emendation of the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament. He had previously discovered in an old cask or wine-bag, at Jericho, an ancient translation not before known to exist. From Juliana he obtained that of the Ebionite Symmachus, to whose writings she had become heiress.

Thus enriched, he returned to Palestine in 238. He makes a second journey into Greece; during which he continues his theological labors. We afterwards find him in Bostra in Arabia; whither he was summoned to hold a conference with Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra, who denied the preëxistence of Christ.† He made a third journey into Arabia some time after, being called to refute the opinions of some Arabian Christians, who maintained that the soul dies, and is raised again with the body.‡

with them; his mode of instruction in philosophy, ethics, and theology; his profound wisdom and piety; and their regret on leaving him, — are among the topics introduced. The expulsion of Adam from paradise, and the misery endured by the Jews in Babylon, are among the extravagant similes employed to express their sense of the loss they should sustain on being deprived of his counsels and presence. The piece is disfigured by all the faults of the Asiatic style; but as a panegyric on Origen by one of his most ardent admirers, and one who had opportunity of thoroughly knowing him, it becomes an object of curiosity.

* Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 24, 25.

† Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, art. "Beryllus."

‡ Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 37.

Thus, if a cloud hung over his fame in Egypt and the West, he had the consolation of knowing that he was still regarded with unbounded admiration in the East.

Origen returned to Palestine. He was now, according to Eusebius, more than sixty years of age, yet did not relax the industry which, through life, formed one of the most prominent features of his character. His powers were yet in their full vigor; and among the works produced after this period were some of his best. His celebrated work against Celsus, undertaken at the request of Ambrose, was one of the number. He continued also to write commentaries. The subjects on which he was now employed were Matthew's Gospel and the twelve Minor Prophets.

Having from long use acquired the habit of speaking *extempore* with great accuracy, he now, for the first time, permitted the discourses delivered by him in public to be taken down, and published by reporters and copyists. These homilies were delivered almost every day; and the number thus preserved and transmitted to posterity as a monument of his diligence, amounted, we are told, to more than a thousand.*

Origen was not allowed to finish his days in peace. The persecution under Decius had commenced; during which, Alexander, the aged Bishop of Jerusalem, (Origen's firm and tried friend,) perished in prison. Origen himself was confined in chains in the inmost recesses of a prison, and subjected to exquisite torture by the rack; the most consummate skill being exerted to push his sufferings to the utmost point of endurance, without causing his death.† He bore all, however, with immovable constancy, though now sixty-five years of age; and the death of Decius, as may be conjectured, finally procured his release. Worn out with years, toil, and sufferings, he sunk quietly to rest at Tyre, at the age, says Eusebius, of sixty-nine years‡ (A. D. 254). His remains were deposited, as tradition says, in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Tyre, near the great altar. A marble

* Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 36; Pamph. *Apol. pro Orig.*; Jerome, *Epist.* 41, al. 65, ad Pammach.

† Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 39.

‡ *Hist.*, vii. 1. See also Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 54.

column, bearing his name and epitaph, and adorned with gold and gems, was visible, it is said, so late as near the end of the thirteenth century; but all vestiges of the tomb have long since disappeared.*

Ambrose, his distinguished patron and admirer, died before him, and was censured, says Jerome, because, though rich, he bequeathed nothing to his friend, who was then poor and old. The censure may have been unjust. Origen, as we have seen, in early life remained in a state of voluntary poverty, and persevered in resisting the earnest entreaties of his friends to partake of the gifts of their liberality. He probably retained in age the feelings and views by which he was influenced in youth; and Ambrose, therefore, forbore to offer what he knew his friend would refuse to accept.

The foregoing narrative embodies all that is known of the personal history of Origen Adamantius. Of the chronological order of several of the incidents related, there exists some uncertainty. Eusebius, from whom the greater part of the materials for a life of Origen must be drawn, is very sparing of dates; and his narrative, though on some points copious, is not a little confused. Jerome, in the very brief account of this Father inserted in his "Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers," has preserved a few dates; but, in the order of his narration, he often differs from Eusebius.

Of Origen's genius and character we shall not attempt any labored analysis. The prominent features of both are well known, and several of them have been incidentally noticed in the above sketch of his life. That he had qualities fitted to inspire admiration and love, can be doubted by none. His merits won him many distinguished and warm friends; and it should be mentioned as equally to their credit and to his, that many of them remained true to him in the hour of his greatest adversity. He was regarded by multitudes with extravagant fondness; yet, amid the marks of flattering attention which he was daily receiving, he appears to have retained, in a remarkable degree, his natural simplicity and modesty. He was pur-

* Huet. *Orig.*, lib. i. c. 4, § 9, note. Maundrell found remains of a church, supposed to be the cathedral, in 1697; but, according to a more recent traveller, they are no longer to be seen.

sued in his lifetime, as was his memory after his death, by envy and hate; he was abused, anathematized, and driven from his country; but seems to have contracted no bitterness or misanthropy of feeling. If it be the lot of few to experience to an equal extent the extremes of adulation and censure, few will be found to exhibit brighter examples of moderation and self-command. Of the amenity of his disposition, his blandness, and winning address, his history and writings afford abundant evidence.

His piety cannot be questioned, though he has never been allowed to bear the title of saint in the Roman calendar, and the question has been seriously debated, whether he won heaven by his merits, or was doomed to the penal fires of hell for his errors! * Such is human folly and absurdity.

* "There are many divines in the communion of Rome," says Bayle, "who believe this Father is in hell." And the skeptical writer proceeds to amuse himself and his readers with several curious extracts and references. One is from Dallæus's reply to M. Cottibi, whom he convicted of ignorance of Christian antiquity in applying the title of *saint* to Origen, which he never bore. We will give a short specimen: "It is scarce two hundred years since Johannes Picus Mirandulanus, having published at Rome, among his nine hundred propositions, that it was more reasonable to believe Origen's salvation than his damnation, was thereupon taken up by the doctors in divinity, who affirmed that this conclusion is rash and blameworthy."

"The Jesuit Stephen Binet," says the same writer, "publishing a book at Paris, in 1629, concerning the salvation of Origen, durst not take the affirmative without trembling. He lays out the matter in the form of an indictment and trial, and produces the witnesses and pleaders *pro* and *con*, with the intervention of the conclusion of the King of heaven's council. At last he brings in this verdict: 'Considering all that has been said on one side and the other, and the conclusions of the King of heaven's council, it is decreed, that the affair be left to God's secret counsel, to whom the definitive sentence is reserved. Nevertheless, by provision, and for the benefit of Origen, it is judged, upon the balance of the whole, that the proofs of his salvation are stronger and more conclusive than that of his damnation.' This, we suppose, may be considered as, on the whole, a very judicious verdict. We will next give a short extract from the arguments of the council for and against Origen. The following passage, taken from the vision of a 'good and honest' abbot in the *Pratum Spirituale*, a book cited with apparent approbation by a general council, occurs in the argument of the council against him: 'A good man, under great concern about the salvation of Origen's soul, did, after the ardent prayer of a holy old man, plainly see a sort of hell laid open to him, where he distinguished and knew the heresiarchs, who were all called over before him by their names; and in the midst of them he saw Origen, who lay there damned among the rest, and covered with horror, flames, and confusion!' To this the council on the part of Origen reply, 'Here the vision of a simple abbot is

He led a life of uncommon sanctity and abstemiousness, treading under foot the wealth and pleasures of earth, and leaving monuments of zeal, diligence, and constancy, which will endure while the religion he labored to defend and illustrate has an abode in the world.

His intellectual character is strongly marked. He seemed formed to exemplify the greatness and imbecility of human nature. As a writer, his merits and defects are alike conspicuous. He had a quick and comprehensive understanding, subtilty, and penetration; a memory uncommonly tenacious, a rapid and teeming imagination, and a fervid and enthusiastic temperament. But he was wanting in sound judgment, in accuracy and method. He threw off his compositions in haste, or rather dictated them *extempore* to his numerous scribes, whom he fatigued by his celerity and protracted labors day and night; and what was once committed to writing seems never to have been subjected to revision. Prolixity and verboseness, diffuseness and redundancy, in matter and style, were the inevitable consequence. These defects run through all his writings, but characterize particularly his commentaries. Hence one of his enemies, after his death, took occasion to say, that he left the world the "heritage of his garrulity as a pestiferous possession." *

As a critic and expositor, he is not entitled to any profound respect. His fondness for allegory and mysticism amounted to a sort of frenzy. His learning was vast, but he had too little discrimination in the use of it; and his attachment to the *idealistic* philosophy (to use Neander's word), then prevalent in Egypt, was the means of vitiating all his views of theology. Under the name of Christianity, he retailed most of the reveries and extravagances of the Alexandrian Platonists of the school of Potamon and Ammonius.

With all his defects, however, we cannot withhold from him a title to the praise of extraordinary genius. He was among

alleged: and I allege the vision of a great saint called Mechtildis, to whom God revealed that he would not have the world to know what was become of Samson, Solomon, and Origen; with the intent to strike the greatest terror into the strongest, the wisest, and the most learned men of this world, by keeping them in suspense and uncertainty.'" Poor Origen!

* Theophilus of Alexandria, *Lib. Pasch.* 1.

the great men of his age, and would have been great in any age. The germ of most of his errors, as we have intimated, existed in the prevalent modes of thinking, and they are such as a person placed in his circumstances, and possessing a bold, ardent, and speculative mind, united with precipitancy of judgment, but with great goodness of heart, — the religious element, too, strong in his nature, — might very naturally adopt. Yet, with all his extravagances, (and they were great enough,) there was that in him which wins our love and reverence; and his pages may still both delight and instruct. "I acquire more knowledge of Christian philosophy," says Erasmus, "from one page of Origen, than from ten of Augustine."

CHAPTER IV.

WRITINGS OF ORIGEN. — COMMENTARIES. — PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION. — HIS BOOK "OF PRINCIPLES." — HIS "HEXAPLA." — HIS WORK AGAINST CELSUS.

OF several of Origen's writings only the title remains; and of many, even that seems to have perished. Eusebius informs us * that he had inserted a catalogue of his works in the "Life of Pamphilus," which is now lost; and Jerome, as we learn from himself, gave one in a letter to Paula, of which only a fragment has been preserved. Ancient writers speak of the number of volumes produced by him as vast and almost infinite. Rufinus and others make it amount to six thousand; but Jerome asserts,† that he did not find in Eusebius's catalogue one third part of that number. At the same time, he bears ample testimony to the immense bulk of his writings. "All Greek and Roman authors," he tells us, "were surpassed by the labors of this one." — "Who," he asks, "can read so much as he wrote?" ‡

His exegetical writings were of three kinds. The first were called Scholia, and consisted of brief notes intended to illus-

* *Hist.*, vi. 82. † *Apol. adv. Rufin.*, lib. ii.

‡ *Epist.* 29, ad Paulam. The account which supposes him to have written six thousand volumes, seems, at first view, extravagant. That he might have produced that number, however, appears by no means impossible, when we consider that each of the homilies or discourses — which were, in some sort, *extempore* performances, and of which a thousand were given to the public by him after he was sixty years of age — seems to have been enumerated as a volume; and that his commentaries, which are said by Epiphanius to have extended to all the books of Scripture, — and which, as we know from the remains of them now extant, were uncommonly diffuse, — were divided into very small tomes. That these tomes were exceedingly numerous is sufficiently evident from the fact, that the first thirteen embraced only the three first and part of the fourth chapters of Genesis. By this method of distribution, it is obvious that the works of Origen would amount to a prodigious number of volumes, — possibly even to six thousand. Had he written less, his productions would have acquired in value what they lost in bulk.

trate the more difficult passages. The second, denominated Tomes, or Commentaries, were diffuse expositions of the several books of the Bible; in these, Origen indulged in full extent his fondness for recondite and mystical meanings. The third class consisted of Homilies, delivered by him, chiefly at Cæsarea, late in life; in which he explained select portions of the sacred writings in a style adapted to the popular ear.

His Commentaries exhibit little accuracy. Indeed, the principle on which he proceeded precluded a sound and rational exposition of the language of his author. The greater part of Scripture contains, according to him, three senses: the literal or historical, or, as he frequently calls it, the sensuous; then the allegorical, that is, moral or mystical; and, highest of all, the spiritual, sometimes confounded with the mystical; the three corresponding to body, soul, and spirit in man. Of the first he had but a very mean opinion. Going on this principle, it is not surprising that he became not a little visionary and wild. In fact, he mystifies and allegorizes almost everything. Jerome accuses him of allegorizing paradise in such a manner as to destroy the faith of history, — by trees, understanding angels; and by rivers, celestial powers.* Again: by the garments of skins with which God is said (Gen. iii. 21) to have clothed Adam and Eve, he supposed were meant bodies, with which they became clothed after the fall; they having previously existed in paradise without flesh and bones.† It should be observed, however, that Origen, in his commentary on the passage referred to, (which is preserved,) does not state this opinion as an undisputed dogma. He mentions a difficulty attending it; still he seems inclined to receive it.‡ By the waters which are said to be above the firmament, we are to understand, according to him, the holy and supernal powers; and by those over and under the earth, the opposite and demoniacal.§ To such an extent did he indulge his fondness for allegorical and tropological senses.‖

* *Epist.* 88, al. 61, ad Pammach.

† *Epist.* 88, al. 61, ad Pammach.

‡ *Opp.*, t. ii. p. 29.

§ Jerome, *Ad Pammach.*

‖ Generally speaking, Origen thought the literal sense of Scripture to be sufficient for the unlearned; at least, all they were capable of receiving. But the letter often contains what is false, absurd, repugnant to itself, impossible,

Several of the Homilies, and large fragments of the Tomes, or Commentaries, have been transmitted to us, constituting together nearly three fourths of all the works of Origen which are extant. Of a part, we possess the original Greek; of other parts, only the Latin translations of Rufinus, Jerome, and others. Those by Jerome are entitled to much respect; and those by Rufinus, for reasons stated below, to very little.

Of the other works of Origen, one of the most considerable is the four books "Of Principles," written before he left Egypt. The original of the work, fragments excepted, is lost. It was translated into Latin, at the close of the fourth century, by Rufinus; who, under the absurd pretext that it had been

etc.; whence an infinity of errors have sprung. The mystical or allegorical sense is necessary to defend the truth of Scripture against its adversaries, and make it appear worthy of God. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to penetrate the mystical senses of Scripture; yet there are certain rules, the observance of which will conduce to a knowledge of them. And, first, whatever is said relating to the ceremonial law is always to be understood, not literally, but mystically. Again: whatever is said of Jerusalem, Egypt, Babylon, Tyre, and other places on earth, is to be referred wholly to corresponding spiritual localities, where souls have a habitation; for in heaven is a region corresponding to Judæa, a city corresponding to Jerusalem, a people corresponding to the Jewish people. There is a spiritual Egypt, a spiritual Babylon, a spiritual Tyre and Sidon, and other cities and places of this sort, corresponding to cities and regions of the same name on earth. Finally, the mystical sense must be resorted to, and the letter deserted, whenever the latter appears false, unedifying, or unworthy of God. This summary is mostly taken from Origen's work on "Principles." Origen appears not to have distinguished between the literal and metaphorical sense; between what was meant to be understood strictly, according to the natural signification of the words, and what the views and purpose of the writer, the connection of the discourse, and other considerations to be taken into view by the laws of approved criticism, require us to understand in a modified or restricted sense. He therefore often resorts to mystical or spiritual senses, when the supposition of a popular or figurative use of language would have answered his purpose quite as well. For example: commenting on Gen. iii. 21, in which it is said, "Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them," he says that it would be foolish, and unworthy of God, to suppose that he took the skins of animals slain, or which had otherwise perished, and, by sewing them together, reduced them to the form of a coat. He therefore resorts to a mystical sense. Now the foundation of his error, it is obvious, lay in the supposition, that it is necessary either to take the words of Moses in their most literal acceptation, or to assign to them an allegorical or mystical sense; that there was no medium between the two. See Delarue's Preface to Origen's Commentaries. Also Neander, *Hist. Christ. Religion and Church*, vol. i. pp. 555, 556, Torrey's translation.

corrupted by the Arians, took the liberty of altering what did not please him. For this he was severely censured by Jerome, whom he had offended by some sinister praises bestowed on him in the preface, and which were designed to draw upon him the suspicion of Origenism. Rufinus admits that he had changed, expunged, and modified certain passages, which would not have been tolerated by Latin ears; but asserts that he had substituted others, taken from the acknowledged writings of Origen. This Jerome denies, and Rufinus fails of proving; and much intemperate language passed between them. The result was, that Jerome gave a new, and, as he affirms, a faithful translation of the work in question. But this, with the exception of a few small fragments, has been suffered to perish; and, for our knowledge of the work, we are indebted almost solely to the corrupt version of Rufinus. The loss of the original is the more to be regretted, as this was one of Origen's most elaborate performances, and contained a full exposition of his views respecting the nature of the Saviour.* The work, in its present form, can afford us little help in settling the question of the opinion of Origen on the subject of the Trinity. It was on this point that Rufinus undertook to correct it. On others, as Jerome informs us, he left Origen to speak his own sentiments.

Origen's great work was the "Hexapla."† Of this work

* Rufin. *Invect.*; Jerome, *Apol. adv. Rufin.*

† The design of the Hexapla was to correct the text of the Greek version of the Old Testament, which was then in common use, but was found to contain many false readings, which occasioned some embarrassment in the controversies between the Christians and the Jews, who often appealed to the Hebrew original as differing from the version of the Seventy. For this purpose, Origen collected all the versions of the Old Testament within his reach, which he transcribed and arranged in parallel columns. First stood the Hebrew text; then the same in Greek characters. This was followed by the very literal version of the Jew Aquila, then recently published. The next column was occupied by the more free, but, as it is said, faithful translation of Symmachus, an Ebionite. Then followed the version of the Seventy, corrected by a comparison of it with the Hebrew text. After this stood the Greek version of Theodotion, also an Ebionite. To these he added two obscure anonymous versions then recently brought to light; and, on the Psalms, still another, making the seventh. The work was called *Biblia Hexapla*, either because it contained six versions, — the fragment on the Psalms not being taken into account, — or because it was originally composed of six columns: the Hebrew text, and the same in Greek characters, forming two; and the

only a few fragments have come down to us. The original, which never seems to have been copied entire, was deposited in the library of Cæsarea by Pamphilus, its founder. The library was destroyed during the eruption of the Saracens; and this monument of noble industry was thus lost to the world. The parts containing the corrected version of the Septuagint had been transcribed by Eusebius and Pamphilus, with occasional extracts from other versions; but only fragments of these are now extant.

The eight books "Against Celsus" contain much good reasoning, and many acute and striking remarks. But Origen was trammelled by the superstitions and errors of the age. A belief of the power of magic, and force of names and incantations, was common, as well among Christians as Pagans; and appeared sensibly to impair the evidence of Christianity from miracles. To this belief, Origen was not superior. "Magic," he says, "is not, as the disciples of Epicurus and Aristotle maintain, a futile thing, but certain and constant," and belongs to a recondite theology.

Many of Celsus's objections, too, were levelled, as have been those of unbelievers since his time, not against Christianity itself, but against its corruptions, which even then abounded; and to these objections Origen, of course, could furnish no satisfactory reply.

Again: several of the narrations of the Old and New Testament were treated by Celsus with levity and ridicule; and Origen thought to blunt the point of his weapons by interposing the shield of allegory and mysticism; and no doubt his esteem for allegory was increased by the vain belief, that it would help to defend Scripture against profane cavil. But this was to yield the victory to the enemy. Minds formed

translations of Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy, and Theodotion, making up the remaining four. The two anonymous versions being afterwards added, it obtained the name of the *Octapla*, as it then consisted of eight columns; and finally of *Enneapla*, because, with the version of the Psalms last added, it exhibited nine. Eusebius informs us that Origen afterwards prepared the *Tetrapla*, consisting of the four principal versions already enumerated. In opposition, however, to this testimony, several modern critics have contended that the whole formed originally but one work, variously denominated according to the number of columns, or number of translations, entire or partial, which it contained.

after the mould of Celsus's were not to be convinced by these methods; which, in their view, only exposed the weakness of the cause they were meant to serve.* It should be recollected, however, that the design of the performance was less to convince minds of this sort than to confirm weak, and perhaps faltering, Christians. With all its defects, however, it was a noble effort; and is generally esteemed the best defence of Christianity which has descended to us from the early ages.

Celsus was a man of superior intellect: learned, acute, witty; a complete master of the art of ridicule. He appears to have been the first who wrote a work intended as a direct attack on Christianity. While the State was using the sword with a design to crush this religion, — then grown to be a formidable power, — Celsus was employing against it all the weapons furnished by his lively and penetrating intellect. He was the Voltaire of his day. His work consisted of two books, called "The True Doctrine." It has now perished, except such parts as are preserved in Origen's "Reply." In this, Celsus's objections are minutely stated and examined. We dismiss the work with a single reflection; which is, that, on certain subjects, the human mind seems to labor and move forever in a circle. Ideas, which pass for novelties at a later epoch, will often be found, upon examination, to be old ideas resuscitated, or called up from the tomb of preceding ages. Thus, if we

* Beausobre has some just reflections on this subject. Alluding to a remark of Origen in his seventh Homily on Leviticus, that if we adhere to the letter, and adopt the Jewish or vulgar exposition, we must blush to think that God has given such laws, since those of the Romans and Athenians were incomparably more equitable, he says, "It must be acknowledged, that these confessions of the Fathers are very prejudicial to the Old Testament. The heretics, who were not prepossessed in favor of the Hebrew revelation, knew well how to profit by them, and had not docility enough to submit their reason and their faith to allegorical expositions. In fact, what authority, what evidence, can allegories possess, which necessity alone invents; which are only the sport of imagination; only meteors, formed, so to speak, of vapors exhaled by a spirit pressed with difficulties? The Christians derided the Gentiles, when, to conceal the shame of their religious fables, they pretended that they were only veils designed to envelop natural truths. It is not, then, surprising, that not only the Pagans, but heretics, in turn, laughed at the orthodox, when, to defend the history and laws of Moses, they employed the weapons which they had been the first to break in pieces." — *Histoire Critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, t. i. p. 287.

look through the writings of modern cavillers and objectors, we find that they have originated very little. They have done little else than revive and repeat old objections. Celsus doubtless thought, that, by wit, argument, and ridicule, he had put an end to Christianity. But Christianity went on its way, feeling no wound, — went on conquering; and so, we are confident, it will. We may predict the future from the past. If the power or wit of man could overthrow it, it would long ago have fallen; but it stands, and will stand when all the puny weapons lifted against it, with the hands that wielded them, shall be buried in rubbish and dust.

CHAPTER V.

INFERIORITY OF THE SON. — HIPPOLYTUS; A NEW WITNESS. — ORIGEN ASSERTS THAT THE FATHER AND SON ARE TWO DISTINCT BEINGS; THAT THE FATHER IS GREATER THAN THE SON. — SPECIMENS OF HIS LANGUAGE AND REASONING. — CHRIST IS NOT AN OBJECT OF SUPREME WORSHIP, AND NOT TO BE ADDRESSED IN PRAYER. — THE SPIRIT BELOW THE SON. — ETERNAL GENERATION. — THE MATERIAL CREATION ETERNAL. — THE LOGOS DOCTRINE AND THE ROMAN CHURCH. — THE MONARCHIANS, THEODOTUS, ARTEMON, PRAXEAS, NOETUS, BERYLLUS. — THE ATONEMENT.

WE have traced the doctrine of the distinct nature and inferiority of the Son from Justin down to Clement of Alexandria, who was Origen's master. Before proceeding to detail Origen's views on the subject, we will pause for a moment over a recently discovered work, published at Oxford, in 1851, as a lost work of Origen;* but which, we think, has been satisfactorily proved, by the erudite Bunsen, to be, not a production of Origen, but of Hippolytus, a Roman presbyter, and Bishop of Portus, the harbor of Rome, near Ostia. Hippolytus lived and wrote about the year 220. Bunsen makes him Origen's senior by twenty-five years, and pronounces him "one of the leading men of ancient Christianity," — "one of those Christian teachers, governors, and thinkers, who made Christianity what it became as a social system, and as one of thought and ethics." He places him "among the series of leading men of the first seven generations of Christians." The title of the work is, "A Refutation of all Heresies." The tenth book contains what Bunsen calls "the confession of faith of Hippolytus"; which he pronounces "the real gem of his writings," — "his sacred legacy to posterity."

The history of Hippolytus has been involved in great obscurity; and all is not yet perfectly clear. Photius makes him

* The "Philosophumena."

a scholar of Irenæus. He wrote numerous works, the titles of which are preserved by the old writers. He is styled bishop, and both Eusebius and Jerome more than once mention him; but neither of them knew where he had his abode or see. Some have assigned him a residence at Portus Romanus in Arabia, that is, Adan or Aden; others at the port of Rome, where Bunsen places him. It is not improbable that he might have resided at both places at different periods of his life. He wrote in Greek. His death by martyrdom is referred to the early part of the third century. In 1551, a statue in marble was dug up in the vicinity of Rome, representing a venerable man seated in a chair, and having the title of several of Hippolytus's works engraved upon it; and there can be little doubt that it is his. Few of his writings have been supposed to remain.

The fragments we before possessed, however, showed the opinions he entertained on the subject of the Trinity. He was no believer in a co-equal Three. His Trinity, says Neander, was "strictly subordinational." He asserted that "God caused the Logos to proceed from him when he would and as he would." In regard to the words, "I and my Father are one," he observes, that Christ "used the same expression respecting his own relation to the disciples." *

But he comes to us now, since the discovery of this work, as a new witness against the antiquity of the modern doctrine of the Trinity. The confession just referred to, as given by Bunsen, clearly exhibits the superiority of the Father, and the dependent and derived nature of the Son. The Father, according to the confession, is "the one God, the first and the only One, the Maker and Lord of all," who "had nothing coeval with him, no infinite chaos, no measureless water or solid earth, no thick air or hot fire or subtile spirit; not the blue vault of the great heaven. But he was One, alone by himself; who, willing it, called into being what had no being before, except that when he willed to call it into being, he had full knowledge of what was to be." Here is the One Infinite Father, who is above all, without co-equal, the Originator of all things. But, like the other ante-Nicene Fathers, Hippo-

* *Hist. Christ. Dogm.*, p. 168.

lytus believed, that, in creating the world, God made use of a subordinate being, or instrument, which was the Logos, or Son. "This sole and universal God," Hippolytus says, "first by his cogitation begets the Word (Logos), . . . the indwelling Reason of the universe." "When he (the Logos) came forth from Him who begat him, being his first-begotten speech, he had in himself the ideas conceived by the Father. When, therefore, the Father commanded that the world should be, the Logos accomplished it in detail, pleasing God." Again: this or that effect took place, "so far as the *commanding* God willed that the Logos should accomplish it." Here is subordination as unequivocally expressed as language can declare it. God is the Original: he commands, and the Son, or Logos, performs. "These things he (God) made by the Logos," the "only-begotten child of the Father, the light-bringing voice, anterior to the morning star." In common with the other Fathers, Hippolytus applies to the Son the title "God," because begotten of the substance of God, and not created out of nothing, as other things were; but he clearly distinguishes him from the Supreme, Infinite One. We discover in the confession, as Bunsen gives it, no mention of the Spirit as a distinct manifestation. Bunsen quotes G. A. Meier as asserting "the fact, that Hippolytus decidedly ascribes no personality to the Holy Spirit." *

The creed of this old bishop, who, as we are told, "received the traditions and doctrine of the Apostolic age from an unsuspected source," is certainly not Athanasian. Well might Bunsen pronounce the "doctrinal system of the ante-Nicene Church," among the teachers of which he assigns to Hippolytus so elevated a place, "irreconcilable with the letter and authority of the formularies of the Constantinian, and, in general, of the Byzantine councils, and with the mediæval systems built upon them." He subjoins, "I say that it is irreconcilable with that letter and that authority, as much as these are with the Bible and common sense; and I add, it would be fully as irreconcilable with the Byzantine and Roman churches if Arianism had prevailed." In what sense this latter asser-

* [See Meier's *Lehre von der Trinität*, i. 88; Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 464. — Ed.]

tion is true, will appear when we come to treat of Arius and the Arian controversy.*

We now proceed to Origen's views of the Son and Spirit. Like the preceding Fathers, he regarded the Son as the first production of the Father; having emanated from him as light from the sun, and thus partaking of the same substance; that is, a divine. He believed, however, that God and the Son constituted two individual essences, two beings. This belief he distinctly avows in more than one instance, and the general strain of his writings implies it. He disclaims being of the number of those "who deny that the Father and Son are two substances"; and proceeds to assert that they "are two things as to their essence, but one in consent, concord, and identity of will."† He quotes the Saviour's words, "I and my Father are one," which he explains as referring solely to unity of will and affection; and refers, in illustration, to Acts iv. 32: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul." Again: from the circumstance that Jesus is called

* For the above quotations from Bunsen we refer our readers to his "Christianity and Mankind, their Beginnings and Prospects"; a work in seven volumes, in which will be found a second edition of his "Hippolytus and his Age" (London, 1854). See especially the preface to the first volume, and pp. 400–404, where the confession of Hippolytus is given; also p. 464. "I doubt not," says Bunsen, "that some people will think it their duty to prove that Hippolytus had the correct doctrine respecting the Athanasian definition of the three persons. It is true, he says the contrary; but that does not signify with the doctors of the old school." — Vol. i. p. 466.

Hippolytus was, says Bunsen, the "first preacher of note whom the Church of Rome ever produced." There were "no homilies by a bishop of the Church of Rome known before those of Leo the Great," A. D. 440. Clement, "the only learned Roman bishop of the old time, wrote an Epistle, but no homily." From that time to the end of the second century, the Shepherd of Hermas is the "only specimen of (Christian) literature connected with Rome." — Vol. i. pp. 265, 472.

† *Cont. Cels.*, lib. viii. § 12. "Two in essence." The term in the original is *hypostasis*, essence. In this sense it was always used by the early Fathers, and not in the modern sense. Huet says, "Υπόστασις pro οὐσίᾳ priscis temporibus solebat usurpari ab Ethnicis et Christianis." He refers to Jerome (*Epist.* 57, ad Damas.), from whom he quotes the assertion, "*Tota sæcularium literarum schola nihil aliud ὑπόστασιν nisi οὐσίαν novit.*" He then adds, "Ita sumpserunt Nicæni Patres, ita Sardicenses" (*Orig.*, lib. ii. c. ii, quæst. 2, § 3). That such was the meaning of the term, as used by the ancient Fathers, admits of no dispute. So Brucker, Petavius, Du Pin, and the learned Trinitarians generally, decide.

"light" in the Gospel of John (i. 4, 5, 9), and, in his Epistle (1 John i. 5), God is said to be "light," some, he observes, may infer that "the Father does not differ from the Son in essence." But this inference, he proceeds to say, would be wrong; for "the light, which shines in darkness, and is not comprehended by it, is not the same with that in which there is no darkness at all." The Father and the Son, he then says, are "two lights." * This, surely, is not the reasoning of a Trinitarian. Once more: he expresses his disapprobation of the hypothesis that "the Spirit has no proper essence diverse from the Father and Son," and adds, "We believe that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three essences, or three substances." †

Let us next hear what he says of the *inferiority* of the Son. Jerome, who had access to several of his works which are now lost, or have come down to us in a corrupt and mutilated form, accuses him of saying that "the Son was not begotten, but made"; that, "compared with the Father, he is a very small light, which appears great to us on account of our feebleness." Again: Origen, he says, "takes the example of two images, a larger and smaller; of which one fills the world, and becomes in some sort invisible by its magnitude; the other falls within the limits of distinct vision. To the former he compares the Father; to the latter, the Son." He attributes, continues Jerome, "perfect goodness" only to the "Omnipotent Father," and does not allow "the Son to be good" (that is, in an absolute sense), "but only a certain breath and image of goodness." ‡

But let us listen to Origen himself. In his commentaries on John, he pronounces "God the Logos," or Son, to be "surpassed by the God of the universe." § Commenting on John i. 3, "All things were made by him," he observes, that the particle *by* or *through* (διά), is never referred to the primary agent, but only to the secondary and subordinate; and he takes, as an example, Heb. i. 2, "By whom also he made the worlds," or ages. By this expression, he says, Paul meant

* *Comm. in Joan.*, t. ii. § 18; *Opp.*, iv. 76.
† *Ibid.*, § 6; *Opp.*, iv. 61.
‡ *Epist.* 94, al. 59, ad Avit.
§ *Comm. in Joan.*, t. ii. § 8; *Opp.*, iv. 58.

to teach us that "God made the ages by the Son" as an instrument. So he adds, in the place under consideration, "If all things were made (διά) through the Logos, they were not made (ὑπό) by him" (that is, as the primary cause), "but by a greater and better; and who can that be but the Father?" * Again: Jesus is called the "true light"; and in "proportion as God, the Father of truth, is greater than truth, and the Father of wisdom is more noble and excellent than wisdom, — in the same proportion," says Origen, "he excels the true light." † Again: the Son and Spirit, he says, "are excelled by the Father, as much or more than they excel other beings." — "He is in no respect to be compared with the Father; for he is the image of his goodness, and the effulgence, not of God, but of his glory and of his eternal light; and a ray, not of the Father, but of his power, and a pure emanation of his most powerful glory, and a spotless mirror of his energy." ‡ Again: "The Father, who sent him (Jesus), is alone good, and *greater* than he who was sent." §

Again: Origen contends that Christ is not the object of supreme worship; and that prayer, properly such, ought never to be addressed to him, but is to be offered to the God of the universe, through his only-begotten Son, who, as our intercessor and high priest, bears our petitions to the throne of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God. On this subject he is very full and explicit. "Prayer is not to be directed," he says, "to one begotten, — not even to Christ himself; but to the God and Father of the universe alone, to whom also our Saviour prayed, and to whom he teaches us to pray. When his disciples said, 'Teach us to pray,' he taught them to pray, not to himself, but to the Father, saying, 'Our Father, who art in heaven.' For if the Son," he continues, "be different from the Father in essence, as we have proved in another place, we must either pray to the Son, and not to the Father, or to both, or to the Father alone. But no one is so absurd as to maintain that we are to pray to the Son, and not to the Father. If prayer is addressed to both, we ought to use the plural number, and say, 'Forgive, bless, pre-

* *Comm. in Joan.*, t. ii. § 6; *Opp.*, iv. 60. † *Ibid.*, t. ii. § 18; *Opp.*, iv. 76.
‡ *Ibid.*, t. xiii. § 25; *Opp.*, iv. 235, 236. § *Ibid.*, t. vi. § 28; *Opp.*, iv. 189.

serve *ye* us,' or something like it; but as this is not a fit mode of address, and no example of it occurs in the Scriptures, it remains that we pray to the Father of the universe alone." He adds, "But as he, who would pray as he ought, must not pray to him who himself prays, but to Him whom Jesus our Lord taught us to invoke in prayer (namely, the Father), so no prayer is to be offered to the Father without him; which he clearly shows when he says (John xvi. 23, 24), 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he shall give it you. Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.' For he does not say, 'Ask me,' nor 'Ask the Father,' simply; but, 'If ye shall ask the Father in my name, he shall give it you.' For, until Jesus had thus taught them, no one had asked the Father in the name of the Son; and what he said was true: 'Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name.'" And again: "What are we to infer," asks Origen, "from the question, 'Why call ye me good? There is none good but one, — God the Father.' What but that he meant to say, 'Why pray to me? It is proper to pray to the Father alone, to whom I pray, as ye learn from the Scriptures. For ye ought not to pray to him who is constituted by the Father high priest for you, and who has received the office of advocate from the Father, but through the high priest and advocate, who can be touched with the feeling of your infirmities; having been tempted in all respects as ye are, but, by the gift of the Father, tempted without sin. Learn, therefore, how great a gift ye have received of my Father; having obtained, through generation in me, the spirit of adoption, by which ye have a title to be called the sons of God and my brethren, as I said to the Father concerning you, by the mouth of David, "I will declare thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the assembly I will sing praise to thee." But it is not according to reason for a brother to be addressed in prayer by those who are glorified by the same Father. Ye are to pray to the Father alone, with and through me.'" *

This we take to be sound Unitarianism. Indeed, the question of the impropriety of addressing the Son in prayer could

* *De Orat.*, § 15; *Opp.*, i. 222, 223.

not have been better argued by the most strenuous advocate for the divine unity at the present day.

We have thus shown, as we think, conclusively, that Origen believed God and the Son to be two essences, two substances, two beings; that he placed the Son at an immense distance from the Infinite One, and was strongly impressed with the impropriety of addressing him in prayer, strictly so called; that he viewed him, however, as standing at the head of all God's offspring, and with them, and for them, as his younger brethren, whom he had been appointed to teach and to save, offering prayer at the throne of the Eternal. Still Origen does not hesitate to apply the terms "creature" and "made" to him, and asserts that he was begotten, not from an inner necessity, but "by the will of the Father, the first-born of every creature."

To the Spirit, Origen assigned a place below the Son, by whom, according to him, it was made. To the Spirit the office of redeeming the human race properly pertained; but, it being incompetent to so great a work, the Son, who alone was adequate to accomplish it, engaged.* The Father, he says, pervades all things; the Son, only beings endowed with reason; and the Holy Spirit, only the sanctified, or saved.

We have reserved for the last place a very remarkable passage relating to the comparative rank of the Father, Son, and Spirit. It contains a plain and direct assertion, and is enough of itself to decide the question respecting Origen's opinions. He says, "GREATER IS THE POWER OF THE FATHER THAN THAT OF THE SON AND THE HOLY SPIRIT; AND GREATER THAT OF THE SON THAN THAT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT; AND AGAIN, THE POWER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT SURPASSES THAT OF OTHER HOLY THINGS." Such language needs no comment.†

Neander asserts that Origen was the first who clearly "expressed the idea of eternal generation." But this was in connection with some refined and idealistic speculations con-

* *Comm. in Joan.*, t. ii. § 6; *Opp.*, iv. 60–64. See also Jerome, *Epist.* 94, ad Avit.

† *De Princip.*, lib. i. c. 3, § 5; *Opp.*, i. 62. Justinian quotes the passage in his Epistle on the errors of Origen, addressed to Menas or Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople. *Concil.*, t. vi. p. 145, ed. Coleti.

cerning the relation of God to time; the same which, according to Neander, led him to "advance the idea of an eternal creation, — a derivation of the creation from God by virtue of an eternal beginning." We are willing to admit, that if the material creation, according to the opinion of this Father, was eternal, the generation of the Son might have been so too.

The above-quoted expressions of Neander are taken from his "Lectures on the History of Christian Dogmas," derived from notes furnished by his hearers after his death. In his "History of the Christian Religion and Church," we find a somewhat more explicit statement of his views on the subjects referred to. He there speaks of the difficulty of conceiving that Almighty Power and Goodness could exist without being forever active. "The transition from a state of inactivity to the act of creation," he says, "is inconceivable, without a change which is incompatible with the being of a God." If this was Origen's view, he might well find "reasons against a beginning of creation generally"; and would, of course, attempt to divest the generation of the Son of all "temporal conditions." "He," says Neander, "who fixed no beginning to creation, but supposed it to be eternal, would far less fix any beginning here. He strove to banish all notions of time from the conception of the generation of the Logos. It was necessary here, as he thought, to conceive of a timeless present, an eternal now"; and this he supposed to be intimated by the expression "to-day," in the second Psalm. Origen was led into this view, Neander says, by his "philosophical education in the Platonic school." * He held the "Platonic idea of an endless *becoming*." He was careful, however, to affirm that the generation of the Son was by act

* Others deny that Origen taught the doctrine here ascribed to him relating to the eternity of the Son. The expressions mainly relied upon to prove that he held this doctrine, it is to be observed, are taken from Athanasius, who may not have reported them correctly. (See Martini, *Versuch*, etc., p. 159.) "Though from his idealistic position," says Hagenbach (First Period, § 47), "Origen denied eternity to *matter* . . . he nevertheless assumed the eternal creation of innumerable ideal worlds, solely because he, as little as Clement, could not conceive of God as unoccupied," "for to say the nature of God is idle and inactive, is alike impious and absurd." It is not surprising that a species of reasoning so abstract and refined should be found irreconcilable with what Origen elsewhere states relating to the facts of creation.

of the "divine will"; and, by the acknowledgment of Neander, he believed the Son to be subordinate. "It appeared to him something like a profanation of the first and supreme essence," says Neander, "to suppose an equality or a unity between him and any other being whatever, — not excepting the Son of God. As the Son of God and the Holy Spirit are incomparably exalted above all other existences, even in the highest ranks of the spiritual world, so high, and yet higher, is the Father exalted above them."

A similar account is given by Gieseler. He states, as one of the two great principles which "ran through the whole of the Alexandrian theology," that "the Godhead can never be unemployed; so that an *endless* series of worlds preceded the present, and an endless series of worlds will follow it." Gieseler adds, "The Alexandrians speak of the Logos as a highly exalted being; evidently, however, they make him inferior to the Supreme God. The wish to remove everything that would be unworthy of God from the notion of the generation of the Son led at last to the doctrine taught by Origen, that the Logos did not proceed from the essence of the Father, but was produced by the will of God, generated from all eternity. He taught also that the Holy Ghost was created by the Son." In support of the statement relating to the inferiority of the Son, Gieseler adduces ample testimony from the writings of both Clement and Origen; and, for other parts of the statement, he quotes largely from Origen. How these views are to be reconciled with the modern Trinity, we do not see.*

* Neander's *Lectures on the History of Christian Dogmas*, pp. 120, 146–148; *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. i. pp. 568, 588, 590, Torrey's trans.; Gieseler's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. pp. 138–140, ed. Philadelphia, 1836.

It has been made a question, whether, according to the Alexandrian doctrine, Origen taught, as it has been asserted of him, that matter originally flowed from the bosom of God. The principle well accords with several parts of his system, though we are not aware that he has anywhere expressly asserted it as regards the origin of matter. Beausobre thinks that his real opinion was, not that matter originally emanated from the substance of God; that all he meant to affirm was, that God never existed for a moment without exercising his perfections, and, consequently, without an act of creation; and that, in this sense, he supposed matter to be eternal. On the emanative principle, it might be said to be eternal, as proceeding from the bosom of the Eternal One. It is easy to see, that, along with such speculations on the cos-

That the whole "Logos doctrine," as it is called, was by many regarded as an innovation, very clearly appears. Neander, in his "Lectures on Christian Dogmas," notices what he calls a "Unitarian monotheistic interest" as manifesting itself about the time of Origen, or a little earlier. He quotes Tertullian as saying that "ignorant people" were "alarmed at the names of the Trinity, and accuse us (that is, the philosophical Christians) of wishing to teach three Gods, while they would be worshippers of one God." These were the Monarchians, as they were denominated; one class of whom was represented by Artemon, who appeared about this time. The history of Artemon is obscure. Whether or not he had any connection with Theodotus, a worker in leather and heresiarch from Byzantium, the learned are unable to decide. It is worthy of notice, that he claimed for his opinions the authority of antiquity. Eusebius, in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of the fifth book of his history, alludes to several books written by persons whose names were unknown to him; and, among others, one against the heresy of Artemon, from which he gives an extract. There is an uncertainty attending the views of both Theodotus and Artemon, some attributing to them the belief that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary; others telling us that one or both of them, Artemon certainly, believed him to have been born of a virgin by the Holy Spirit, and so to have had something divine in him: a "certain divine energy" uniting itself with him from the first, the divinity of the Father in some way acting in him. But what is important is, that Artemon, in thus believ-

mogony, the generation of the Son might be disengaged from the idea of time. We are willing that the doctrine of the eternal generation should stand on the ground on which Origen virtually put it; that is, eternity may be ascribed to the Son in the same sense in which it may be ascribed to the material creation, and only in that sense. This is not what modern Trinitarians mean.

According to Jerome (*Epist.* 94, al. 59, ad Avit.), Origen taught that all bodies, that is, all of the grosser sort, will be finally converted into spiritual substances; that all corporeal nature will be reduced back to the divine, which is the "most excellent"; and then "God will be all in all." See Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, t. ii. pp. 284, 285. Also Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.*, t. iii. p. 443; and Huet. *Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. ii. quæst. 2, § 24; and quæst. 12, § 2.

ing, claimed to hold the primitive doctrine. In the extract just referred to, given by Eusebius, we read, "They affirm that all the ancients, and the very Apostles, received and taught the same things which they now assert; and that the preaching of the truth was preserved till the times of Victor, who, from Peter, was the thirteenth Bishop of Rome; but, from the times of his successor Zephyrinus, the truth has been adulterated." Against the accuracy of these assertions, the author quoted by Eusebius stoutly argues; but there the assertions stand, made with great confidence and evidently in good faith. Artemon's claim to hold the ancient doctrine has somewhat perplexed the advocates of the antiquity of the "Logos doctrine." It is to them an ugly fact, difficult to be disposed of. Dr. Baur, as represented by Neander, supposed the "Logos doctrine" to have been a compromise, or an "attempt at mediation," between different parties. This, it will be perceived, supposes it not to have been the ancient doctrine.

Neander says, that, "since it has been found that the Monarchians of the third century appeal to the agreement of the older Roman bishops with their views, modern inquirers have been led to infer from this circumstance that the Monarchian tenet was in this church originally the prevailing one, while the doctrine of the Logos was unknown to it." Again: "When they (the Artemonites) asserted, that, from the time of Victor's successor Zephyrinus, the true doctrine of this church became obscured, some fact must be lying at the bottom of this assertion; which, unhappily, in the absence of historical data, it is impossible, at present, accurately to ascertain." The problem is not one in which we feel any special interest; and we leave the solution of it to those who maintain that the modern doctrine of the Trinity is the old doctrine. We will only add, that the book from which Eusebius made the extract above referred to is supposed by Bunsen to have been the "Little Labyrinth," which he thinks was, without doubt, written by Hippolytus.*

The Artemonites were many of them men of scientific cul-

* See Eusebius, *Hist.*, v. 27, 28; Neander, *Hist. Christ. Dogm.*, pp. 149-158; *Hist. Christ. Relig. and Church*, i. 576–582; Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 402, 439, etc.

ture. They "busied themselves a good deal with mathematics, dialectics, and criticism." They were reflective and philosophical; their intellectual tendencies led them to eliminate almost entirely the mystical element from their theology. They were admirers, says Eusebius, of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Neander has a remark in this connection, which is worth noticing. "We perceive here," says he, "the different kinds of influence exerted by the systems of philosophers; the Platonic being employed to defend the doctrine of Christ's divinity, while the opposite direction of mind, tending to combat that doctrine, leaned to the side of the Aristotelian." The Artemonites brought criticism to bear on the text both of the Old Testament and the New. They had, according to Eusebius, copies of the Scriptures corrected by different hands, to which they appealed.

The other class of Monarchians, which appeared about the same time, consisted of Praxeas, Noëtus, and Beryllus. In their opinions they differed somewhat from Theodotus and Artemon, though equally with them they stood in antagonism to the prevailing Logos doctrine. The precise shades of their belief it is difficult to determine. Of Praxeas we know little except what we gather from the pages of Tertullian, who hated him for the active part he took against Montanus and Montanism. He was called by his antagonists a Patripassian. He came from Asia Minor, the "fatherland of Monarchianism"; thence he went to Rome, where his opinions met no opposition. He afterwards proceeded to Carthage, where he encountered the stern-faced Tertullian. His ideas of the union of the Father and Son are not very clear; only he was understood to deny the personality of the Logos in the Son, referring all to the Father. It is certain that he strenuously asserted the unity of God; and one of the charges he brought against the prevailing orthodoxy, which Tertullian attempted to refute, was that it taught a "plurality of Gods;" that is, by means of the Logos doctrine.

Noëtus, who was, too, of Asiatic origin, and who found an opponent in Hippolytus, as Praxeas did in Tertullian, and Beryllus afterwards in Origen, was also strongly in the "Unitarian Monotheistic interest." His views are not more pre-

cisely defined, at least in any writing which has come down to us, than those of Praxeas, to which they bore a certain resemblance. He believed in one God the Father, who manifested himself in the Son, the Logos not, however, becoming in him a separate personality. He claimed that his doctrine only tended to "honor Christ," while it preserved the unity of God. He, as well as Praxeas, was called a Patripassian.

Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, was another of the group.* He held, so far as we can gather on a subject confessedly very obscure, and about which writers materially differ, that Christ had no personal existence before his appearance on earth, though while on earth the divinity of the Father dwelt in him, having united itself with him at his birth. Neander ascribes to him a "conciliatory position," a "midway tendency," more successfully developed afterwards in Sabellius. He finally yielded through the influence of Origen, and became reconciled to the Church. He was classed with the Patripassians. It was the Council assembled against Beryllus, as Neander thinks, which established the doctrine, firmly held by Origen, that Christ possessed a rational human soul, before denied, the Logos, from the time of Justin Martyr at least, being supposed to supply the place of it.†

So unsatisfactory to multitudes of minds was the doctrine of the Platonizing Fathers concerning the Logos, or Son. It called forth vigorous opposition, and this opposition was not confined to the "simple" and unlettered to whom Tertullian refers. Those just named were generally learned men. Such was the state of opinion when Origen wrote. His doctrine was antagonistic to these Monarchian opinions, and developed itself partly from conflict with them.

On the subject of Christ's human soul, Origen seems to have held some views peculiar to himself. He supposed that

* Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 88; Neander, *Hist. Christ. Relig. and Church*, i. 593, 594. For a general view of the whole group, see Martini, *Versuch*, pp. 128–150. See also Neander, *Hist.*, i. 576–585, 591–594; *Dogm.*, pp. 149–168; and Kurtz, *Text-Book*, First Period, § 40.

† So Justin Martyr makes Christ to consist of three principles, "σῶμα καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχήν." (*Apol.* II., c. 10.) "The Divine Logos," says Semisch, "occupied in Christ the place of reason in man," that is, according to Justin. (*Justin Martyr*, ii. 812.) See also Hagenbach, First Period, § 66.

the Logos, or divine nature in Christ, became united with a human rational soul before his incarnation. He believed all souls to be preëxistent, all endowed with freedom. Of these souls, which, from the moment of their production, were placed in a state of probation, one, having used well its liberty, was, on account of its distinguished sanctity, taken into union with the Logos, or Son, and became one spirit with it, one substance. This union, as Origen supposed, prepared the way for a future union with flesh; a divine nature being incapable of union with body, without some medium.* The soul thus honored was selected, as just intimated, for its merits. Retaining its immaculate purity, and love to its Maker, it was rewarded by being raised into union with the divine Logos; and we, as Origen further taught, if we imitate the singular love of Christ to God, shall be made partakers of the same Logos, and, in proportion to our merits, be taken into union with it.†

Origen had elevated conceptions of the moral efficacy of the death of Christ; but his views of the atonement would be pronounced exceedingly defective and erroneous by those who should judge him by the Calvinistic standard. He was fond of regarding Christ as the light, the guide and pattern, of the human soul, as its purifier, its Redeemer and Saviour, as well by his teachings as by his death. He was the wisdom of the Father, and the image of his goodness and truth; as such, it was his appropriate office to shed light on the human spirit, and, through the love of goodness, win it back to God. "Like all the Fathers before him, Justin (to a certain degree) excepted, Origen," says Bunsen, "had no idea of the atonement in the sense of the Anselmo-Calvinistic theory, — of satisfaction given by the death of Jesus to the Divine Justice." ‡

* *De Princip.*, lib. ii. c. 6.

† On the obscure subject of Christ's preëxistent human soul, see Neander, *Hist. Christ. Relig. and Church*, i. 685–689.

‡ *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 298.

CHAPTER VI.

ORIGEN'S SYSTEM OF RATIONAL AND ANIMATED NATURES. — ALL SOULS PREEXISTENT. — PURPOSE OF THE MATERIAL UNIVERSE. — THE STARS ANIMATED, AND WILL BE JUDGED. — TUTELAR SPIRITS. — DEMONS. — PRESENT CONDITION THE RESULT OF FORMER TRIAL. — EXTENT OF CHRIST'S REDEMPTION. — CELESTIAL NATURES. — ORIGIN OF SIN. — HUMAN ABILITY. — NO UNCONDITIONAL ELECTION.

WITH regard to the *extent* of the benefits intended to be conveyed by the death of Christ, Origen entertained some very singular, and, as will be admitted by all, exceedingly wild and visionary notions. But, to enable our readers readily to comprehend his opinion, or perhaps his conjectures, on this subject, we must first make them acquainted with his views of the great system of rational and animated natures, comprehending angels, men, and demons, sun, moon, and stars. These views, it will be perceived, were derived from the very fanciful philosophy of the age; and, though they may constitute bad theology, they are entitled, some of them at least, to our admiration, as beautiful creations of a poetic imagination.

All beings endowed with reason, according to Origen, are of one nature, or essence,* and were produced long before the

* All beings endowed with reason, including, according to Jerome, "the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, angels, powers, dominations, and other virtues," — all these, says Jerome, he asserted to be of one substance; though, at other times, he would not allow the Son to be of the same substance with the Father, dreading the appearance of impiety (*Epist.* 95, ad Avit.). The expression, "of one substance," or one essence, which is here employed by Origen in reference to God, angels, and the souls of men, is deserving of notice, as it is precisely that which is often employed by the Fathers in speaking of God and the Son. The inference is obvious. Origen "does not hesitate," says Jerome, "to ascribe the nature of the omnipotent God to angels and men." And why should he refuse to ascribe it to the Son? Yet he did sometimes refuse from a principle of piety, so careful was he not to infringe the Divine Unity. To the *Origeniana* of the learned Huet, we acknowledge ourselves indebted for much assistance in the preparation of this and the following chapter.

foundation of the visible world. In this opinion he was not singular. The preëxistence of souls was a dogma of the reigning philosophy. At first, as Origen maintained, they were pure intelligences, all glowing with love to their Maker. They, however, possessed entire freedom, and the capacity of virtue and vice. The consequence was, their primeval love grew cold, and they became in various degrees estranged from God, the fountain and centre of moral life and heat. They were hence reduced to different ranks of beings, and doomed to occupy different stations, more or less exalted or depressed, according to their acquired character and habits; and this visible, material world was created for their reception.

Some were placed in the bodies of the sun and stars, and were appointed to the noble office of enlightening and adorning the universe; and continue to shine with greater or less splendor, according to their moral merits. The stars are thus animated, endowed with reason, and have partaken of sin. They receive the commands of God, and move in their prescribed courses; they still retain the attribute of freedom; their virtue is capable of increase or diminution; and they will hereafter be judged. They are able, by their positions and aspects, to prefigure future events; and apostate spirits, deriving their knowledge from them, transmitted the arts of astrology to man.*

Of others was formed the community of angels, who, according to Origen, are clothed with light, ethereal vehicles; to which, in consistency with the philosophical tenets in which he was reared, he seemed inclined to add bodies of a grosser sort; thus making them compound beings, like man, consisting of body and soul. He assigns them various offices. He sometimes speaks of each individual of our race as constantly attended by a good and bad angel. Christians, especially, enjoy the benefit of a tutelar spirit; but, whether appointed at their birth or baptism, he does not afford us the means of determining. Some preside over communities and churches; and hence, in the Revelation, we hear of the "angels of the

* *Comm. in Gen.*, t. iii. § 5; *Opp.*, iii. 8, 9. Philo, with whose writings Origen must have been familiar, speaks of the stars as animals endowed with intelligence. (*De Mundi Opif.*, c. 24; *Opp.*, i. 17.)

churches"; some over inanimate objects, the operations of nature, and human inventions and arts; over plants and animals: each having received the charge for which he is, by disposition, best fitted; regard being had to his merit or demerit in a preëxistent state. Thus Raphael is the patron of the medical art; to Gabriel are assigned the affairs of war; and to Michael, for his piety, the offering of the prayers of the saints.* They assist in transmitting souls into bodies, in disengaging them at death, and conducting them to judgment. Like the souls of stars, they retain their freedom, and will be rewarded or punished for the use or abuse of their liberty. Finally, they are entitled to a degree of reverence and worship corresponding to their nature and offices; though we must be careful not to confound the regard which is their due with the supreme adoration due to God, who alone is to be addressed in prayer.†

The more guilty spirits were depressed into the rank of demons, who possess bodies far grosser than those of angels, as, in their prior state, they contracted greater impurity. These, too, retain their moral liberty; are still capable of virtue; and may yet

> "Reascend,
> *Self-raised,* and repossess their native seat."

Others were destined to become human souls; and, for the punishment of their sins, were imprisoned in bodies of flesh, and are subjected to the discipline best fitted for their recovery.

Such, according to this Father, is the general system of rational natures. All existed in a prior state; all were made capable of virtue or vice; but, abusing their liberty, were degraded from a superior to inferior orders of beings. Some

* *De Princip.*, lib. i. c. 8; *Opp.*, i. 74.

† From the above account of the offices attributed to angels, we perceive how completely the Heathen notion of tutelar spirits and genii was transferred to Christianity. According to the splendid mythology of the Pagans, every grove, temple, stream, and fountain, all seasons and arts, business and pleasure, had their presiding deities. Christianity banished these false divinities from the earth; but in the theology of the Fathers angels succeeded to their places. All the operations of Providence were supposed to be performed by their ministrations; and they became objects of reverence, as the guardian divinities of the Heathen had been before them.

became angels, and some demons; some, the souls of sun, moon, and stars; and some were imprisoned in bodies of flesh.* The present condition of all is the result of their conduct in a former state of trial; it is a state of punishment and continued probation. They are still capable of recovering themselves; are still free. By new sin, or new virtue, they may be still further depressed, or rise; they may regain a higher order, and again relapse and sink: from men, become angels; and from angels, men.

We are now prepared to resume the subject of the *extent* of the benefits ascribed by Origen to the death of the Saviour. On this subject, subsequent Fathers preferred against him many and grievous complaints. Thus he maintained, it is said, that Christ suffered for the redemption of all rational natures, including the souls of men, angels, demons, sun, moon, and stars. He asserted, says Theophilus of Alexandria,† that Christ was "fixed to the cross for demons, and wicked spirits above"; and Jerome accuses him of saying that he had "often suffered, and would suffer in the air, and places above, for the salvation of demons."‡ Theophilus complains that he would save even "the Devil"; and, in the language of the prophet,§ calls on the heavens "to be astonished, and to be horribly afraid," at such daring impiety.

But let us consult Origen himself. In his tenth Homily on Luke, he says expressly that the advent of Christ "profited celestials"; ‖ and, in support of the assertion, refers to Col. i. 20. In his first Homily on Leviticus, he speaks of a "double sacrifice" and "double victim"; of the blood of Christ sprinkled on the earthly, and also on the "supernal" altar; and he asserts explicitly, that he was "offered a victim, not only for terrestrial, but also for celestial beings"; ¶ and more to

* To Origen's general principle, that the souls of men were shut up in bodies as a punishment for sins committed in a preëxistent state, he admits a few exceptions. These are cases of men of distinguished sanctity, who have lived in times past, and whose souls were, in fact, angels, sent on an extraordinary legation, as in the case of John, to testify to the truth, and conduct men to virtue and happiness.

† *Lib. Pasch.*, ii.

‡ *Apol. adv. Ruf.*, lib. i.; and *Epist.* 95, al. 59, ad Avit.

§ Jer. ii. 12. ‖ *Opp.*, iii. 943. ¶ *Opp.*, ii. 186.

the same purpose. Again: in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, he says, "So great was the efficacy of Christ's cross and death, that it was sufficient, not only for the human race, but for celestial powers and orders. For, according to the sentiment of the Apostle Paul, Christ pacificated, by the blood of his cross, not only "things in earth," but also "things in heaven";* that is, angels, sun, moon, and stars. Again: "He is the great High Priest, who offered himself, not only for men, but also for every being partaking of reason; he died not only for men, but likewise for other rational beings; he tasted death for every creature; for it is absurd to say that he tasted death for human sins, but not also for whatever other beings, besides man, have committed sin; for example, for the stars, the stars not being pure in his sight, as we read in Job xxv. 5, 'Yea, even the stars are not pure in his (God's) sight'; unless, perchance, this is said hyperbolically."† Such, according to Origen, was the extent of the redemption through Christ.

It may well be doubted whether there is any solid foundation for the other part of the accusation brought against him by Theophilus, Jerome, and others, that he believed that Christ had repeatedly suffered, or would suffer, in the heavens and in the air. This doctrine is not expressly taught in any of his writings now extant; and the contrary seems to be often implied. True, he alludes to an offering in the heavens, but apparently speaks of it as accompanying his sacrifice on earth, and not as an act to be repeated.

With regard to the points afterwards agitated during the famous Pelagian controversy, the authority of Origen, as well as that of all preceding Fathers, could be adduced in opposition to the Augustinian doctrines. These doctrines seem to have been regarded as a novelty at the time; and many of those who condemned the opinions of Pelagius were not prepared to adopt, in full extent, the views of his celebrated antagonist. Origen has been called the Father of Pelagianism; and certainly the germ and substance of the Pelagian doctrines are found in his writings.

His views of the effects of Adam's sin were censured by

* *Opp.*, iv. 568. † *Comm. in Joan.*, t. i. § 40; *Opp.*, iv. 41, 42.

the orthodox of subsequent ages, but were apparently in unison with the opinions of the Church at the time he wrote. He has the phrase, "sin of nativity"; and speaks of the "similitude of Adam's transgression, not only derived from birth, but contracted"; but in what sense he understood these and similar expressions, is matter of doubt; certainly not in the modern. He had no notion of any such consequences attending Adam's transgression as have been ascribed to it in orthodox systems, from the time of Augustine down to the present day. In a moral view, he seems, in fact, hardly to attribute anything to the fall, and, in his general reasoning, does not distinguish between what is called a "state of fallen nature" and a state of primitive integrity; at least, so far as the sin of our first parents is concerned. All souls, he supposed, sinned in a preëxisting state, and consequently came into the world under certain disadvantages; but they are subjected to these disadvantages, not by the disobedience of Adam, but by the guilt contracted by our abuse of liberty in a prior state.

Origen allows to the soul in its fallen state the most perfect freedom and moral ability; the power to choose and pursue virtue, and reject and fly from sin; and this power is retained by demons, and even the Devil. Good as well as evil motives originate in the heart. To live well is "our own work," the result of our own volitions and efforts: "God demands it of us, not as his work, but as our own." And he goes on to show, from numerous texts of the Old and New Testament, that it is in our power to live as God requires, and that "we are the cause of our perdition or salvation." He then proceeds to explain certain passages, which, it seems, were adduced by some heretics of the Oriental or Gnostic sects to establish a different doctrine; and these, it is deserving of notice, are precisely those which, in modern times, have been brought to prove that our goodness is the work of God, and not of ourselves; that it is the result of the special agency of his Spirit, and not primarily of our own volitions. On all these he puts a construction which would now be called decidedly Arminian. The passages referred to are — the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, Exod. iv. 21; the taking away a

heart of stone, and giving a heart of flesh, Ezek. xi. 19; "It is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," Rom. ix. 16; "He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth," and the following verses, containing the illustration of the potter and the clay, Rom. ix. 18–23; and some others. All these he so explains as to leave man entire freedom and ability, moral as well as physical, to do good or evil, and make sin or virtue his own act. He attributes to God, not our volition, but only the power of volition. Thus, in explaining the phrase, "To will and to do is of God," as he quotes Phil. ii. 13, he observes, "The Apostle does not say, that to will good or evil, and to do better or worse, are of God, but only generally to will and to perform"; that is, the power to will and to perform. He draws an illustration from the power of motion. That we are capable of motion, he says, is of God; but the particular direction of our motions depends on ourselves; so "we receive of God the power to will; but we may use this power for good or for evil, as also the power to perform." *

Origen speaks in general terms of the necessity of divine grace to enable us to attain to the perfection of the Christian character; but it was his belief, that this grace is granted as the reward of our goodness, that it is in no sense the exciting cause, and that the measure of it is determined by the exercise of our own wills; that is, it is bestowed in proportion to our previous merits, and not by an arbitrary act of God's sovereignty. He seems afraid almost of attributing too much to God's agency. Holiness originates in our own wills: we must sow the seeds; but, the plant once introduced, God fosters and cherishes it.

God thus grants the assistance of his Spirit, as Origen supposed, in proportion to our merits, and in consideration of them. But in our merits are included the good actions done in a preëxistent state, as well as those performed in the present; so that God may make a distinction between one and another, bestowing his grace on one and withholding it from another, loving one and hating another, before they "have

* *De Princip.*, lib. iii. c. 1, De Arbitrii Libertate; *Opp.*, i. 108, et seqq.

done good or evil," that is, in the present life, as in the case of Jacob and Esau (Rom. ix. 11–13).*

Origen admits of no unconditional election, but makes predestination depend altogether on our works foreseen.† God is said to make "one vessel to honor, and another to dishonor"; but the cause, says Origen, is in ourselves. He who purges himself from impurity is made a vessel of honor; he who suffers himself to remain polluted with sin is made a vessel of dishonor. "Each one is made by God a vessel of honor or of dishonor, according to his merits" in this or a preexistent state. "It is just," he adds, "and in every respect agreeable to piety, that each one should be made a vessel of honor or of dishonor from *preceding causes*"; and these, he insists, are our merits, our actions. These, foreseen, are the ground, and the only ground, of predestination.‡

* *De Princip.*, lib. iii. c. 1; also lib. i. c. 7.

† Huet. *Orig.*, lib. ii. c. ii. quæst. 7.

‡ *De Princip.*, lib. iii. c. 1; *Comm. in Rom.*, lib. i. and vii.; *Opp.*, iv. 464, 604, 616.

CHAPTER VII.

ORIGEN'S VIEWS OF THE FUTURE. — THE RESURRECTION. — FORM OF THE FUTURE BODY ROUND. — BODIES OF THE DAMNED BLACK. — THE FINAL CONSUMMATION WILL BE THE PERFECTION AND HAPPINESS OF ALL, INCLUDING FALLEN SPIRITS OF DARKNESS. — MATTER TO BECOME SPIRITUALIZED. — VARIATION IN HIS OPINIONS. — PERPETUAL LAPSES AND RETURNS. — FATE OF THE ORIGENIAN DOCTRINES. — APPEALED TO BY THE ARIANS. — CONDEMNED A CENTURY AND A HALF AFTER ORIGEN'S DEATH. — ORIGENISM FINDS SHELTER IN THE MONASTERIES. — FREEDOM OF THEOLOGICAL SPECULATION.

WE have treated of the opinions of Origen relating to the past and present character and condition of rational natures, and especially man. We now turn to his representation of the future.

His views of the resurrection have been a subject of controversy. He was accused by several subsequent Fathers, and by Jerome among the rest, of denying it in reality, and retaining only the name. And if by the resurrection we are to understand the restoration of the flesh of the present body in substance and figure, he undoubtedly did deny it; thinking with St. Paul, that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." He could, in consistency with himself, entertain no other opinion; for, according to his system, the flesh is the prison-house of the soul, which it is doomed to occupy for the punishment of its sins. All spirits become clothed with bodies more or less gross, according to their degree of moral pollution. They remain, however, in a state of discipline, and may be restored. When they shall have purified themselves from their stains, and regained their pristine beauty and excellence, they will drop the encumbrance of their material or fleshy chains, and become once more subtile and ethereal. So Origen undoubtedly thought. The souls of the faithful, at death, will part forever with their present earthly and corruptible integuments. The body, compacted as it now

is, will not be restored: it will rise, but other and different, more pure and splendid. The present is but the germ of the future, according to the illustration of Paul, who says, "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body."

With regard to the form of the future body, it has been generally inferred, from the manner in which Origen has expressed himself and from the analogy of his system, that he regarded it as round. Such is the figure esteemed most perfect; such that of the heavenly bodies, — those more glorious intelligences; and such, as he seems to have supposed, will be ours; though he has not, we believe, directly asserted it in any of his writings we now possess. Certain it is, that his followers professed to have derived the doctrine from him; and it was prevalent among the Origenian monks of Palestine in the time of Justinian.*

Origen believed in the final restoration of all beings to virtue and happiness. All are subjected to influences, which, sooner or later, will prove successful. Superior orders of intelligences are appointed to instruct, guide, and perfect the lower. Of the glorious spirits who have imitated the divine perfections, some, as the reward of their merits, are placed in the "order of angels; others, of virtues; others, of principalities; others, of powers, because they exercise power over those who require to be in subjection; others, of thrones, exercising the office of judging and directing those who have need." To the care and rule of these noble orders the race of man is subjected, and, using their assistance, and reformed by their salutary instructions and discipline, will, in some future though perhaps distant age, be restored to their primitive state of felicity.†

The sufferings of a future life, as Origen taught, are all piacular and remedial. We shall all, he says, be subjected to trial by fire. But those who have few impurities and many virtues will escape with slight pain; but the fire will take hold

* Among the anathemas subjoined to Justinian's Epistle to Menas already referred to, on the errors of Origen, is the following: "Whoever says or thinks that men's bodies will be raised spherical, and not erect, let him be anathema." — *Concil.*, t. vi. p. 358, ed. Coleti.

† *De Princip.*, lib. i. c. 6; *Opp.*, i. 69; Jerome, *Epist.* 94, ad Avitum.

of the wicked, and their iniquities will be burned, and their evil affections purged away. Some, however, in consequence of inveterate habits of sin, will be reserved to a great intensity and long continuance of suffering, of which their blackened bodies will be witness.*

So he sometimes expresses himself; but in other parts of his writings he is careful to teach us that this and similar language is altogether metaphorical. By the fire which shall burn the wicked, he tells us, is meant the worm of conscience. The evil of their whole lives will, by an act of Divine power, be vividly presented to their thoughts; the picture of all the wrong they have done or intended will be spread out before their eyes; forgotten things will be remembered; and they will have a horrible consciousness of guilt. This is the flame by which they are to be tormented; not an outward and material, but an inward fire, of which their sins furnish the fuel; just as the peccant humors of the body, consequent upon excess and repletion, furnish the fuel of fever.† These humors may be purged away, and the patient restored, after a season of suffering. Just so with regard to the impurities of sin which occasion so much anguish. By the salutary discipline of suffering, the soul may and will be cleansed from them. Such is its design, such its tendency, and such will be its result. All will be chastised exactly in proportion to their demerit; but their sufferings will have an end, and all will be finally restored to purity and to love. This Origen repeatedly asserts.

The end and consummation of all things, he observes, is the perfection and happiness of all. "To this one end," condition, or state, he says, "we think that the goodness of God, through his Christ, will recall his universal creation; all things becoming finally subjected to Christ. 'For all things must be subject to him.' ‡ Now, what is this subjection," he asks, "with which all things must be subject to Christ? I think the same with which we also desire to be subject to him; with which the Apostles, and all the saints who have followed Christ,

* *In Exod.*, Hom. vi.; *In Ps.* xxxvi., Hom. iii.; *Opp.*, t. ii.
† *De Princip.*, lib. ii. c. 10; *Opp.*, ii. 100; Jerome, *Epist.* 94, ad Avitum.
‡ 1 Cor. xv. 24–28.

are subject to him. For the very term 'subjection,' in this case, implies that they who are subject have obtained the salvation which is of Christ." Then it is that "Christ himself shall also be subject to the Father, with and in those who have been made subject." This, he observes, is asserted by the Apostle, when he says, "And, when all things shall be subdued to him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto Him that put all things under him; that God may be all in all." And this subjection of all Christ's enemies to himself, as that of himself to the Father, Origen contends, "is a good and salutary" subjection. If the latter is such, the former is so too: and hence, "as, when it is said the Son is subject to the Father, the perfect restitution of the universal creation is declared; so, when the enemies of the Son are said to be subject to him, the salvation, through him, of those subject, and the restitution of the lost, are implied." *

Again: in his seventh Homily on Leviticus, he contends that subjection to Christ implies subjection of the will and affections; and that, as long as anything remains opposed to him, — in other words, as long as there is sin, — his work is not consummated. "But," he adds, "when he shall have consummated his work, and brought his universal creation to the summit of perfection, then he himself shall be subject in those whom he has subdued to the Father, and in whom he has consummated the work which the Father gave him to do; that God may be all in all." †

Such, according to Origen, will be the end, or final consummation, of all things. His train of reasoning throughout, as it will be perceived, implies his belief of the final restoration and happiness, not merely of the human race, but of all rational natures, including demons and fallen spirits of darkness; otherwise the universal creation could not be said to be subjected and made perfect. When, in connection with the train of reasoning above exhibited, we take the fact before stated, that he supposed Christ died for the heavenly hosts and for demons, for all rational beings who had sinned, we cannot doubt that such was his belief. Such it was understood to have been in the time of Theophilus, above referred to, and of Jerome, both

* *De Princip.*, lib. i. c. 6; lib. iii. c. 5. † *Opp.*, ii. 222.

of whom made it one of the capital articles in the catalogue of his heresies, that he taught that "the Devil" would be finally saved. In fact, there are passages in his writings which appear expressly to inculcate this doctrine. Thus he observes, "The last enemy, which is called Death, is spoken of as destroyed." By death, it seems, he understood the Devil, or "him that had the power of death" (Heb. ii. 14); and he proceeds to explain what is meant by his destruction. "The last enemy," he says, "is not to be understood as so destroyed, that his substance, which was derived from God, shall perish; but only that his malignant will and purpose, which proceeded not from God, but from himself, shall cease to exist. He shall be destroyed, therefore, not so that he shall not continue to be, but so that he shall not continue to be an enemy and death." * Nothing more can be needed to show that a belief of the final restoration of all fallen beings formed part of the creed of Origen.† The more deeply fallen, however, will be subjected, as he taught, to protracted and severe sufferings; and God alone knows their termination. But all will mount, step by step, till they attain "to the invisible and eternal state, some in the first, some in the second, and some in the last ages; corrected and reformed, by rigorous discipline and very great and grievous punishments, by the instructions of angels, and afterwards by superior orders of intelligences."

The rewards of the blessed Origen makes to consist in an intimate union, or oneness, with God, according to the prayer of Christ (John xvii. 21–24). They do not, however, rise to the summit of this felicity at once, but through several successive steps: as, first, by knowledge and instruction, which remove the darkness of their understandings; then by being brought into a moral resemblance to God; then by being taken into union with him, in which consists the supreme good. This union is explained as a union of affection, will, and purpose. The soul, on leaving the body, is first conducted, as he tells us, to a part of the earth called Paradise,‡ where it

* *De Princip.*, lib. iii. c. 6. See also lib. i. c. 6.

† See, on this point, the letter of Jerome, already repeatedly referred to.

‡ It is curious to observe, that Origen, while he places Eden, or the terrestrial Paradise, in the third heavens (imagining that by Adam and Eve dwelling in it we are to understand souls residing in heaven; and, by their

remains for some time, enjoying the instruction of angels, and gradually depositing its earthly concretions. It then mounts into the air, and afterwards into various regions of the heavens, continuing in these several places, under different masters of the superior orders of intelligences, for a longer or shorter term, according to the degree of impurity to be purged off, till by various progressions it reaches the invisible and incorporeal heavens, where God resides; where, as we have said, it becomes united with him as in its first state of felicity and love, and he becomes "all in all," dwelling in all, and all in him. Matter will then become spiritualized, and be reabsorbed in God, from whom it flowed. Thus all ends where all began: —

"From thee, great God! we spring; to thee we tend."

Such was Origen's great system; yet he occasionally expresses views which appear in some respects to militate against it. Thus he seems to say that there will be perpetual lapses and returns from sin to holiness, and from superior orders of beings to inferior, and the reverse, in consequence of that moral liberty which all will retain, and which they may forever use or abuse. Thus Peter may, at some future time, become a Judas; and Judas, a Peter: Paul, a Caiaphas; and Caiaphas, Paul. Men may become angels or demons; and angels or demons, men. Demons and angels may change characters: the Devil may become an archangel; and archangels, devils; all things mingling and revolving in unceasing succession. Upon this hypothesis, there can be no fixed condition either of happiness or suffering. Neither the punishment of the damned nor the joys of the blessed are necessarily eternal. All beings are in a state of perpetual progression and

expulsion, the exile of souls doomed, as the punishment of sin, to be clothed with bodies), he supposes the future or celestial Paradise to be situated somewhere on the earth. "I think," says he, "that saints, departing this life, will remain in a certain part of the earth, called, in the Scriptures, Paradise, as in a school of instruction." The same, he supposed, was intended by "Abraham's bosom." Here all which they have witnessed on earth is to be explained to them; and they are to receive revelations of the future, not now permitted. This place the more pure will soon leave, and mount through various mansions, called, by the Greeks, spheres; but in the Scriptures, heavens (*De Princip.*, lib. ii. c. 11, § 6).

retrogression. The material universe will undergo corresponding changes. There was a succession of worlds before the present, and will be a succession after it; the new springing from the old, as the bird of fable from the ashes of its sire. Souls will fall into sin, and, for their punishment, must be again imprisoned in gross bodies; and this will always create a necessity for the existence of matter, which will be absorbed and produced, reabsorbed and reproduced, in successive and never-ending periods.* It may well be doubted, however, whether such was Origen's fixed opinion. On many points, he is uncertain and vacillating; but with regard to the final restoration of all beings to a union with the fountain of Divinity, when Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father, and God shall be all in all, he is clear and express. He often recurs to the topic, and his views on the subject are fully unfolded. We may be pardoned if we hesitate to admit, upon the evidence of a few slight expressions, his belief of a doctrine, which, in opposition to the general tenor of his reasonings, teaches that sin shall never be abolished, and the time will never come when "all things shall be subdued to the Son," and all shall be "of one heart and of one mind." It would be no easy task, however, to defend Origen against the charge of inconsistency and self-contradiction. It was his fate to lose himself in the mazes of a wild and wandering philosophy. How thoroughly he had imbibed its spirit, the foregoing summary of his opinions abundantly shows. We mean not to be his apologist. Our aim has been to be simply the historian of his opinions, not to combat or defend them.

The fate of the Origenian doctrines, after the brilliant but erratic spirit which had contributed to give them currency had been withdrawn from the earth, is exceedingly interesting. The storm raised against him during his life, as has been already shown, had, in reality, no reference whatever to doctrine; nor have we any evidence that his orthodoxy was formally impugned until long after his death.† The first

* *De Princip.*, lib. i. c. 6; also Jerome, *Epist.* 94, ad Avitum.

† We are aware that Eusebius (*Hist.*, vi. 86) alludes to a letter written by Origen to Fabian, Bishop of Rome, "concerning his own orthodoxy"; which would seem to imply that it was, by some, drawn into suspicion; but on what

writer who ventured to censure the doctrines of Origen after his decease, as we are informed by Socrates the historian,* was Methodius, Bishop of Olympus in Lycia, afterwards of Tyre, who died early in the fourth century, fifty years after Origen left the world. He wrote a book on the Resurrection, against Origen; and another, says Jerome,† on "the Pythoness" (1 Sam. xxviii.). The attack on Origen, however, seems to have been deemed a rash one. Origen's writings were now held in unbounded admiration, and Methodius found it convenient to recant.

Origen's reputation for orthodoxy continued unsullied till the celebrated Arian controversy broke out; when he was claimed by both parties, though his opinions coincided with neither. The Arians could of right claim him, as asserting that the Son was inferior to the Father, but not as affirming that he was made out of nothing, which was their distinguishing dogma. The Athanasians could claim him, as asserting, with the ante-Nicene Fathers generally, that he had an existence from eternity, not *with*, but *in*, the Father; not as a real being or person, but an attribute. On the whole, the orthodox had, at this time, receded further from the views of Origen, if not in letter, at least in spirit, than the Arians. The former, however, regarded him as too important an ally to be surrendered. They continued to defend him as long as with decency they could; and even Athanasius quotes him with approbation. From this time, however, Origen had a strong party against him; though his friends and admirers were yet numerous, and many of them among the most learned and accomplished writers of the age. Eusebius and Pamphilus, with a tender regard for his memory, composed an Apology for him,

points, we are not told. The matter appears to have produced no excitement: if so, it was soon allayed. Among the charges brought against him by his enemies at Alexandria, in consequence of which he was deposed and banished, not one related to doctrine; which is sufficient evidence that he was not regarded as deviating, in any essential particular, from the popular faith.

* *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. vi. c. 13.

† *De Vir. Illust.* Jerome also mentions a treatise of Methodius on "Free Will." This, it seems, was written in the form of a dialogue between a Valentinian and a Catholic, and was designed to prove that evil arises from abuse of liberty in free agents; which was also the doctrine of Origen.

in six books; and his writings were collected and deposited in the library at Cæsarea.*

It appears, then, that the soundness of Origen's opinions on the subject of the Trinity first began to be called in question after the rise of Arianism. But the defection from him was by no means general even then. The majority, even, of the orthodox, were still friendly to his memory. Socrates, it is curious to observe, after mentioning some authors who had written against him down to the close of the fourth century, says, that though they collected whatever they supposed blameworthy in Origen, — some mentioning one thing, and some another, — yet they found no fault with him on the subject of the Trinity.† This assertion is made without any qualifying phrase whatever. From the days of Arius, we know, down to the time of Theophilus the Alexandrian, and Epiphanius, near the close of the fourth century, the adherents and friends of Origen formed a very large proportion of Christians. Another tempest then arose, more violent than the former. The monks of Egypt and Palestine were at this time decided Origenists. Theophilus, having embroiled himself in a dispute with some of the former, who inhabited the monasteries of Nitria, assembled a Provincial Synod at Alexandria, about the year 400; in which — to gratify, as it would seem, a passion of revenge or hatred — he caused the writings of their favorite, Origen, to be condemned a century and a half after his death. This is the first time sentence of condemnation was pronounced against the errors of Origen by a synod. Theophilus, who had

* In this Apology, nine charges are mentioned as brought against him by his enemies. Some of them, however, are evidently unfounded; and a part inconsistent with the rest. He was accused of saying that "the Son of God was not begotten"; of retailing the fabulous opinions of Valentinus concerning his birth; of maintaining, with Artemon and Paul of Samosata, that he was a mere man; of saying that the account of him given by the evangelists is a mere allegory, and not a history of events that actually occurred; of asserting that there were two Christs; of allegorizing, generally, the lives of the saints recorded in the Scriptures; of holding some unsound opinions concerning the resurrection of the dead, and of denying that sinners will be punished; of entertaining erroneous views of the state of the soul; and, lastly, of maintaining that human souls will hereafter pass into the bodies of beasts, fishes, and serpents.

† *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. vi. c. 18.

a talent for intrigue, immediately wrote to the bishops generally, and to Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, in particular, urging him to the same step. The latter, duped by the arts of the wily Egyptian, called a council of the Cyprian bishops, who proceeded to pass sentence of condemnation both on Origen and his writings. This controversy, which was long and fierce, involved John, Bishop of Jerusalem, and John Chrysostom of Constantinople, both favorers of Origen; also Rufinus and Jerome, who were soon engaged in terrific battle. In fact, the whole East and West were now shaken with tremendous commotions.* Theophilus boasts that he had "truncated the serpents of Origen with the evangelic sword." Epiphanius adds, "Amalek is destroyed," and boasts that he will sweep the heresy of Origen from the face of the earth. Jerome swells the note of triumph. "Where now," he asks, "is the crooked serpent? where the venomous vipers?"

We may give, as a specimen of the hate engendered by this controversy, the parting words which passed between John Chrysostom of Constantinople, and Epiphanius, when the latter, after a violent altercation, was about to leave Constantinople for Cyprus. "May you not die a bishop!" says Epiphanius to John. "May you never live to reach home!" retorts the golden-mouthed John. The wishes of both were granted. Chrysostom was soon after deposed, and died in exile, A. D. 407; † and Epiphanius, having embarked for Cyprus, died on the passage, A. D. 403. Theophilus, who had rendered himself odious by the indulgence of his violent and revengeful passions, died A. D. 412. On his death-bed, as tradition says, he expressed great remorse; and the ghost of the injured Chrysostom, whose downfall had been procured chiefly

* See Jerome, *Epist.* 88, al. 61, ad Pammach.; also *Epist.* 89, al. 62, ad Theoph., with other letters of Jerome to Theophilus, and of Theophilus and Epiphanius to Jerome. Jerome, *Opp.*, t. iv., ed. Par. 1706. Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. vi. c. 10; Huet. *Orig.*, lib. ii. c. iv.

† He was finally banished to a place called Pityus, "on the northeast coast of the Black Sea, at the foot of Mount Caucasus, in a desolate region at the extreme limits of the Roman Empire." He did not live to reach the place of his exile, but, worn out with toil and suffering, he died on his journey, at the age of 60.—*Life*, by Perthes.

by his machinations, standing at his pillow, shook his soul with terror.

Though Origenism had now received some heavy blows, it yet gave symptoms of life. The publication of a translation of Origen's book "Of Principles," at Rome, by Rufinus, had been the occasion of awakening the spirit of Pelagius, whose doctrines were, in fact, only a certain modification of Origenism. Anastasius, however, the first pope of the name, had condemned Rufinus for heresy, and passed sentence against Origen and his writings; and the friends of his name and doctrines had certainly some reason to indulge desponding anticipations.

This explosion past, a long period of comparative quiet followed. Meantime, Origenism found shelter in the monasteries of Palestine; where, a little more than a century after, it continued to prevail to an alarming extent. Complaints were made to the Emperor Justinian, who caused sentence of anathema to be pronounced against Origen by several bishops (among whom were Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople; Ephrem of Antioch; Peter, Bishop of Jerusalem; and Vigilius of Rome), about the year 538. This sentence was confirmed by the fifth General Council, holden at Constantinople, A. D. 553;* and again, by the sixth, holden also at Constantinople, A. D. 680. The acts of this council were confirmed by Pope Leo II., A. D. 683; and thus Origen was formally placed in the rank of heretics. His works are still, however, permitted to be perused by Catholics, with a *Caute lege*, in the margin, against the offensive passages, to put the reader on his guard.

Origen was the great head of the liberal school of theology of his day, and he left the authority of his name and example a valuable heritage to after ages. Alluding to the disputes which rent the church at a subsequent period, Gieseler† says that "to the wide-extended influence of his writings it is to be attributed, that, in the midst of these furious controversies,

* See Evagrius, *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. iv. c. 38; and Valesius's note. Huet. *Orig.*, lib. ii. c. iv. § 3.

† *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 207, ed. Phil. 1836.

there remained any freedom of theological speculation whatever."

Bunsen expresses himself quite as strongly. "Origen's death," says he, "is the real end of free Christianity, and, in particular, of free, intellectual theology." *

* *Christianity and Mankind*, i. 286.

WRITERS SUBSEQUENT TO THE TIME OF ORIGEN AND BEFORE THE RISE OF THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.

CHAPTER I.

SABELLIUS AND SABELLIANISM. — PAUL OF SAMOSATA. — THE SCHOLARS OF ORIGEN. — DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA. — ACCUSED OF HETERODOXY. — EXTRACTS. — THE TERM "CONSUBSTANTIAL." — GREGORY THAUMATURGUS. — DEPRESSES THE SON TO THE RANK OF A CREATURE OR WORK. — THEOGNOSTUS. — QUOTED. — PIERIUS. — PHOTIUS'S REPORT OF HIS OPINIONS. — METHODIUS. — HIS LANGUAGE SAVORS OF ARIANISM. — LUCIAN. — HIS LEARNING AND MERITS. — HIS OPINIONS. — MOST OF THE ARIAN CHIEFS WERE OF HIS SCHOOL.

SABELLIUS.

WE have, in the preceding pages, traced the doctrine of the separate being and inferiority of the Son, from Justin Martyr down to Origen. There was now, on the one side, something which was thought, at least, to savor of Tritheism, and on the other, as we have seen, a strict Monarchianism, which, by its mode of defending the unity of God, subjected itself to the charge of Patripassianism, and to the denial of the divinity of Christ, by maintaining that the Logos as a separate subsistence formed no part of his nature. "Origen," says Hagenbach,* "carried to such an extreme his system of hypostases, including the subordination scheme, that orthodoxy itself threatened to run over into heterodoxy, and thus gave rise to the Arian controversy, in the following period." Thus it was the Orthodox Fathers themselves who opened the way to Arianism. Sabellianism, and the kindred beliefs of Praxeas, Noëtus, Beryllus, and the rest, pointed in the opposite direction.

* *Text-Book*, etc., First Period, § 46.

Tritheism and Sabellianism were the Scylla and Charybdis of the Fathers.

We will treat further of the orthodoxy of the age presently; but we must first say a few words of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata, two eminent teachers of the Monarchian party, who flourished about the time of Origen's death, or a little later.

Neander pronounces Sabellius the "most original and acute thinker among the Monarchians." He was of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, in Egypt; at least it is asserted by Eusebius that his opinions were first propagated there. This was a little after the middle of the third century, — about A. D. 255–257, as the date is generally computed by critics. His doctrine was a protest against the orthodoxy of the age. Sabellianism is generally described as a trinity of attributes, names, or manifestations. God exists in one hypostasis or person, but in three relations: first, as manifest in creation, and the giving of the law; secondly, in the person of Jesus Christ; and thirdly, in a purifying and elevating influence, called the Holy Spirit. These are not three "self-subsistent personalities, but only three different characters — forms of revelation in which the Divine Being presents himself."

The Saviour was the immediate manifestation of God. The Logos, or Power of God, was hypostatized in him during his abode on earth, but the personality was not permanent; it was transient only. It "neither existed previously to his incarnation, nor does it continue to exist in heaven, since that divine ray which beamed forth in Christ returns again to God." But whether Sabellius made it return at the ascension of Christ, or only after the Kingdom of God should be completed, is not certain. The denying the permanent self-subsistence of the Logos in Jesus Christ was the great point on which Sabellius differed essentially from the Orthodox Platonizing Fathers. The Power of God, or Logos, at the appointed time, according to Sabellius, united itself with the man Jesus, wrought in him as in no other man, made him sufficient for his great work, and left him when that work was accomplished. The Platonizing Fathers believed in the permanently self-subsisting Logos of God in Christ. In common with most of those who had spoken of the Holy Spirit, and distinguished

it from the Logos, Sabellius appears to have regarded it simply as the power of God.

Sabellius's doctrine of the Logos as a power occasionally manifested, (leaping out from God and then drawn back and reabsorbed,) but having no separate, abiding personality, was not new. Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, mentions a similar opinion as held by some in his day.* There seems to have been something congenial with the minds of the age in the Sabellian views. They rapidly spread, not only in Egypt, the land of their birth, so that, as Athanasius says, in Pentapolis in Upper Libya, the Son of God was "scarcely any longer preached in the churches," † that is, in the Orthodox sense. Sabellianism pervaded far-off regions, and in the fourth and fifth centuries the Fathers are still found contending against it.‡ Yet a "sect of Sabellians, properly so called," says Hagenbach, "did not exist."

The Sabellianism of antiquity has been the belief of multitudes within the pale of Orthodox churches, in modern times. Milman, the historian, says, "a more modest and unoffending Sabellianism might perhaps be imagined in accordance with modern philosophy." §

Paul of Samosata.

Paul of Samosata appeared a little later. He enjoyed the friendship of Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra, and became Bishop of Antioch in 260. Of the various complaints against him our purpose does not require us to speak. We are concerned only with his opinions as a Monarchian. In his main principle it is often said that he differed but little from Sabellius. But Neander thinks that he more nearly resembled Artemon, with whom he is frequently compared by the ancient writers. He held that there was in the divine nature only one hypostasis, or person; that Christ was man by nature, yet was higher than other men, as conceived by the

* Cap. 128, Otto. † *De Sentent. Dionysii*, c. 5.

‡ Euseb. *Hist.*, vii. 6; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, lxii.; Neander, *Hist. of Christ. Dogmas*, pp. 164–168; Martini, *Versuch*, etc., pp. 188–198; Hagenbach, *Text-Book*, etc., Second Period, § 88.

§ *Hist. of Christianity*, p. 312; ed. New York, 1841.

Holy Spirit. He first began to exist when born of Mary. The divine Logos united itself with him and dwelt in him as in no other ever sent of God, but did not, properly speaking, incarnate itself in him; it had in him no personal subsistence. The divine Reason itself, the Wisdom or Power of God, revealed itself in him as it had never revealed itself in any other prophet. So great was the illumination he hence received, and so was his nature exalted by means of it, that he could with propriety be called the Son of God.

There existed great bitterness of feeling against Paul, for he had personal qualities which were very offensive. The bishops from furthest Egypt and Pontus combined to crush him; council after council was held, and he was finally condemned and deposed between 269 and 272. The same Synod of Antioch which deposed and excommunicated him, it is worthy of note, rejected the term *homoousios*, "consubstantial," which, after the Council of Nice, became the very Shibboleth of orthodoxy.

Little more was now for a time heard of these opinions. The pendulum was swinging in an opposite direction. In antagonism to Sabellian and kindred views, the doctrine of the self-subsisting personality of the Logos, or Son, was more strenuously insisted on than ever. Soon Arianism came, strongly contrasting with the Monarchianism of Sabellius and Paul.* Of this we will proceed to treat; but we must first glance for a moment at the scholars of Origen, now dispersed over various regions, and inquire what they are teaching. It is remarkable that no one of them has adopted his peculiar views of the "eternal generation" of the Son. There is, we believe, no instance of this found among his followers. In other respects they hold his views of the Logos, or Son, as the Reason of God, which, before the creation of the world, was begotten, or converted into a self-subsistent being subordinate to the Father, and his instrument in creating and governing the world.

* Epiphan. *Hær.*, lxv.; Euseb. *Hist.*, vii. 27–30; Martini, *Versuch*, etc., pp. 209–225; Neander, *Hist. Christ. Dogm.*, pp. 169, 170, and *Hist. Christ. Relig.*, i. 601–605; Hagenbach, *Text-Book*, etc., Second Period, § 88.

Dionysius of Alexandria.

One of these was Dionysius of Alexandria. He was of Pagan extraction, became a student of philosophy, and afterwards, probably through the influence of Origen, went over to Christianity. About the year 232, he succeeded Heraclas in the chair of the theological school, and on his death, A. D. 247, ascended the Episcopal throne of Alexandria. He took an active part in the theological discussions and disputes of the day, and by his rank and merits obtained the name of "Great." He embarked with his characteristic ardor in the Sabellian controversy, which nearly proved his ruin, for it left him with his reputation for orthodoxy blighted. Some African bishops loudly complained of him to his namesake at Rome, for saying that the Son was a "work, and was not consubstantial with the Father," and he had great trouble in purging his name from the taint of heresy.* He "sowed the seeds," we are told, "of the Anomœan impiety"; the Anomœans being a branch of the Arians. Basil charges him with placing the Son in the rank of a "creature," — in repelling the errors of Sabellius going into the opposite extreme; making not only a "diversity of persons," but a "difference of substance."†

The charge seems to have been but too well founded. Dionysius wrote many letters and some treatises on theological subjects, most of which have perished. But some of his letters, or parts of them, have been preserved by Eusebius, who from them composed the greater part of the Seventh Book of his History, observing that Dionysius "particularly relates all the actions of his own times, in the epistles which he has left to posterity." ‡ Fragments of his letters, too, are found in the writings of Athanasius. These fragments afford unexceptionable evidence of his opinions, as they give his own language. We will present one or two extracts. A letter which he wrote to Ammonius and Euphranor furnished the Arians with the following passage well suited to their purpose. He said that the "Son of God is something made and begotten;

* Athan. *De Syn. Arim. et Seleuc.*, cc. 43, 44; et *De Syn. Nic. Decret.*, c. 25.

† *Epist.* 9, 210, ed. Par. 1839.

‡ See also vi. 35, 40–45.

neither is he by nature (a son) proper; but is in substance foreign to the Father, as is the husbandman to the vine, or the shipbuilder to the ship; and being a creature, he was not before he was begotten." * There is no doubt these were the words of Dionysius. They are given as such by Athanasius, who was friendly to his memory and his apologist, and who wrote a treatise on his sentiments which is still extant.

Again, from the same work of Athanasius, it appears that Dionysius was charged with holding that "God was not always Father; the Son was not always; but God was without the Logos; and the Son was not before he was begotten; but there was a time when he was not, for he is not eternal, but was afterwards begotten." † This is what he was accused of saying. He complains afterwards that he was not fairly dealt with, — that his words were taken out of their connection, and that his expressions are marred in the quotation. Whether this was so or not, he had in his former writings against the Sabellians, it seems, laid himself open to the charge of so teaching. Subsequently, according to Athanasius, he explained and recanted, and took a more orthodox view of the subject. This is not doubted. The question is, what he said in his earlier days, when writing against the Sabellians, not what he asserted afterwards, when it became necessary for him to defend himself against the charge of heresy. Athanasius does not deny that the words above-quoted were used by him; he only gives his explanation or apology.

Little needs be added. As to the term "consubstantial," Dionysius says that he "did not find it in the Scriptures," and he therefore felt justified in rejecting it.‡ Dionysius explains

* *De Sent. Dionys.*, c. 4. The meaning is, the Son of God is not by origin of the nature of the Father, according to the usual law, but is foreign to him in substance, the relation between them being that of the planter to the vine, or the ship-carpenter to the ship he builds, — a doctrine in the highest degree anti-Sabellian, and certainly on the very confines of Arianism.

† *De Sent. Dionys.*, c. 14.

‡ Athan. *De Sent. Dionys.*; and the letter of Dionysius himself to his namesake of Rome, in Athan. *De Syn. Arim. et Seleuc.*, c. 44; *De Syn. Nic. Decret.*, c. 25. Dionysius uses other illustrations. Thus, alluding to a former letter, he says: "I adduced parallels of things kindred with each other; for instance, that a plant growing from seed, or from root, was other than that from which it sprang, yet was altogether one in nature with it; and that a stream

in what sense he could use it; in other words, in what sense he could say that the Son was consubstantial with the Father. "I took the example," he says, "of a human progeny, which it is evident is of the same genus with the parent," that is, consubstantial. In this sense "consubstantial" did not imply numerical identity. So, according to Dionysius, who in this followed the older Fathers, the Father and the Son might be pronounced "consubstantial," as they were beings of the same specific nature, that is, both divine, though as distinct from each other as Peter and John, or the husbandman and the vine, the maker of the ship and the ship. The attempt to prove that men of this stamp were Trinitarians in any such sense as would satisfy a modern expositor of the doctrine is perfectly idle.

Dionysius was called to attend the Council of Antioch, assembled to try Paul of Samosata; but being prevented by age and infirmity from attending, he wrote a letter to the Synod expressing his views on the subject in dispute, and died soon after, A. D. 265.

Gregory Thaumaturgus.

About the same year (A. D. 265) died another of the pupils of Origen, and his great admirer. This was the celebrated Gregory Thaumaturgus, the "wonder-worker," as he was called; pronounced by Eusebius* to be one of the "most famous bishops of the age." He was a native of Neocæsarea in Pontus, and was born of heathen parents. Pursuing the study of law at different places, and among others at Berytus and Cæsarea in Palestine, he at the latter place met with Origen, who, captivated by his brilliant genius, became his teacher and won him over to Christianity. Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm with which Gregory regarded this great Father. Leaving him to return to his native country after he had been his pupil for five years, he composed a panegyrical

flowing from a fountain, gained a new name, for that neither was the fountain called stream, nor the stream fountain, and both existed, and the stream was the water from the fountain."

* *Hist.*, vi. 30; vii. 14; and Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 65.

oration upon him which is still extant. He then returned to Pontus, and, much against his will, was made bishop there. Basil, in the place already cited,* charges him, as well as Dionysius, with depressing the Son to the rank of a "creature," or "work," — something produced. We discover in his writings no trace of a belief in the eternity of the Son; in other respects he adopted Origen's views of his nature. He held him to be of inferior dignity to the Father, and did not believe in their numerical identity.†

THEOGNOSTUS.

Theognostus, an Alexandrian writer, not mentioned by Eusebius or Jerome, came a little later in the century, being placed in the last third part of it. What we know of him, which is very little, we gather chiefly from Athanasius and Photius. Athanasius quotes him to prove that the term "consubstantial" was not first used by the Fathers of Nice. In the second book of his Hypotyposes, Theognostus, he says, writes thus: "The substance of the Son is not anything procured from without, nor accruing from nothing; but it sprang from the Father's substance, as radiance from light, or vapor from water; for neither is the vapor, nor the radiance, the water itself, or the sun, nor is it foreign to it. The Son is an effluence from the substance of the Father, without the substance of the Father undergoing any partition; for as the sun remains the same and is not diminished by the rays which flow out from it, so neither does the substance of the Father undergo any change through the Son who bears its image." ‡ Here is no numerical identity of substance in the sense of the later Athanasian orthodoxy. Yet Athanasius speaks in high terms of Theognostus, and calls him a learned man.

Photius's report of his orthodoxy is unfavorable. Photius had read his writings which we do not possess. Theognostus, he tells us,§ calls the Son a "creature," and says that he

* *Epist.* 9 et 210. *Opp.*, iii. 128, 458, ed. Par. 1839.

† On the subject of his opinions, and the creed falsely attributed to him, see Martini, *Versuch*, etc., p. 230, ff. See also Lardner, art. "Gregory of Neocæsarea."

‡ Athan. *De Syn. Nic.*, c. 25.

§ *Biblioth.*, cod. 106.

"presides only over beings endowed with reason," and utters "other things derogatory to the Son, after the manner of Origen." Nor do the opinions he entertained of the Spirit appear to have been any more orthodox.

Pierius.

Pierius, an Alexandrian, flourished about the same time, perhaps a little later; surviving some years after the commencement of the fourth century. We glean a little, and but little, of him from Jerome and Eusebius. He was of Origen's school, and much inclined to asceticism. From his learning and eloquence he was called the younger Origen. We have none of his works remaining. Photius says that he spoke worthily of the Father and Son, only he "made them two substances and two natures." But of the "Holy Spirit he spoke dangerously and impiously, maintaining that it was inferior in glory to the Father and Son." * He passed his latter days at Rome.

Methodius.

Methodius, Bishop of Olympus, in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, in Phœnicia, a Greek writer, died after the commencement of the fourth century. Several of his writings remain, and Photius has preserved extracts from others which have, in the main, perished. Jerome, in his book of "Illustrious Men," gives a short account of him; but Eusebius, in his History, does not name him. Valesius † attributes the omission to the fact that Methodius wrote against Origen, of whom the historian was a warm admirer. In his book on the Resurrection, and in two or three others, Methodius had found fault with some of Origen's opinions, but it does not appear that he censured his doctrine of the Trinity; nor could he consistently, for, as we shall presently see, he was himself no more orthodox on this subject than Origen. Socrates, after mentioning him, with three others whom he names, as among the revilers of Origen, says that he afterwards recanted, and expressed great admiration of him. But whether he first censured and

* *Biblioth.*, cod. 119. † Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 24, note.

then praised, or the reverse, has been made a question, which, however, we shall not take time to discuss. It is of more consequence to observe what Socrates adds, that none of the calumniators of Origen charged him with "entertaining ill sentiments of the Trinity." * His doctrine was the orthodoxy of the age.

As to Methodius, his opinions, we have no reason to doubt, were those generally of his times. He says that the Father was the principle out of which the Logos, which was before in him, proceeded. Of the eternity of the Son, as a self-subsistent being, he evidently knew nothing. He calls him the "first begotten of God — before the ages." In power and dignity he held the Son to be inferior to the Father. Speaking of the Son, he says that "after the Father, his beginningless grand cause, he is in himself the cause of all other things, which were made through him." † No Athanasian orthodoxy here. The opinions which now ruled in the East were of a very different complexion from that. No wonder that the Arian opinions found a ready reception there. Indeed, so strongly do the writings of Methodius savor of Arianism, that Photius suspected that they had been interpolated or corrupted by the Arians.‡ But no marks of interpolation can be discovered, and "learned moderns," says Lardner, therefore, "have thought themselves obliged to admit that Methodius Arianized." § Lardner gives several quotations and references in support of his assertion, adducing the authority of Tillemont, ‖ Basnage, and the learned Huet, Origen's editor. Beausobre had no better opinion of Methodius's orthodoxy. "His writings," he says, "savor very strongly of Arianism and Nestorianism."¶ Of the assertion of Methodius that Christ is the "most ancient of the Æons and first of the archangels," he says, it is "furiously Arian." ** Among other strange things

* *Hist.*, vi. 18. See the note of Valesius.

† See Martini, *Versuch*, etc., p. 245, ff.

‡ *Biblioth.*, cod. 237.

§ *Works*, vol. iii. p. 190. London, 1829.

‖ Tillemont says, that it is difficult to give a good sense to some of his expressions concerning the Word and the procession of the divine persons. *Mém. Eccléa.*, v. 200, ed. 1732.

¶ *Hist. de Manichée*, etc., lib. vi. c. 8. Tom. ii. p. 817, note.

** *Ibid.*, lib. i. c. 10. Tom. i. p. 118.

which Methodius taught was this, — that the Divine Word incarnated itself in Adam, the first man; but that he being deprived of its presence by sin, it incarnated itself anew in the Virgin Mary.*

Lucian.

A more distinguished personage who lived in these days was Lucian, Presbyter of Antioch. He had the reputation of being a very learned man, and was especially distinguished for his knowledge of the Scriptures. Eusebius gives him in all respects a very exalted character.† Jerome calls him very eloquent, and bears testimony to his laborious study of the sacred writings, of which "some copies were still called Lucian's."‡ This refers probably to his edition of the Septuagint. Of this version there were several editions, according to Jerome: that of Hesychius, adopted by the churches of Egypt; that of Lucian, in use from Constantinople to Antioch; and Origen's copy as prepared by Pamphilus and Eusebius, used in Palestine and the regions adjoining.§ There was an edition of the New Testament as well as of the Old by Lucian and Hesychius, mentioned by Jerome.‖ Lucian suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia, in the year 311 or 312, and was buried, according to Jerome, in Heliopolis, in Bithynia. The city was much favored by Constantine for that reason, and the empress Helena regarded it with peculiar affection as the place where the ashes of the martyr reposed.¶

Lucian had many followers. Born at Samosata, after the death of his parents he passed some time at Edessa, and thence removed to Antioch, where he is said to have established a theological school. According to Philostorgius, most of the Arian chiefs, as Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, Theognis of Nice, Leontius of Antioch, and others, were his disciples.**

* *Hist. de Manichée*, etc., lib. i. c. 10, and lib. vi. c. 8.
† *Hist.*, viii. 18, and ix. 6. ‡ *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 77.
§ *Præf. in Paralip. Opp.*, i. 1027, ed. Par. 1609.
‖ *Præf. in Quat. Evang.* Tom. iii. p. 566.
¶ Philostorgius, *Hist.*, ii. 12. ** *Ibid.*, ii. 14.

What were his own theological opinions, it has been thought difficult to decide. There are some significant facts, however, which deserve to be mentioned in this connection. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, intimates that he held the views of Paul of Samosata, and in an obscure passage says, that he remained "out of the Synagogue" for a long period during the times of three Bishops.* But that he was ever separated from the Church, or excommunicated on account of his opinions, we do not consider an established fact. The respect with which he is uniformly spoken of by Athanasius, Jerome, and others, — orthodox men, — and the reverence in which his memory was held, seem inconsistent with the supposition.†

The followers of Arius, however, were often, as we know, called Lucianists; and Arius, in a letter addressed to Eusebius of Nicomedia, speaks of him as a "fellow Lucianist." ‡ The creed attributed to him,§ on disputable grounds, however, is a noteworthy document. Athanasius and others find it orthodox; but the Arians seem to have claimed and used it in the fourth century. There were expressions in it, certainly, which both parties could accept. It says nothing of the eternity of the Logos, or Son; the expression "before all ages" necessarily meaning no more than that he existed before all created beings; the obnoxious term "consubstantial" is avoided; and there is clearly nothing in the composition which teaches the numerical identity of the Father and Son. So far the Arians could adopt it. But some expressions occur in it which the true Arians must have found it a little difficult to reconcile with their peculiar belief. The use made of Lucian's name by the Arians, however, and the fact that so many of the Arian chiefs were of his school, and that the sect were called Lucianists, might, even if there were nothing else, create a

* Ap. Theod. *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. i. c. 4.

† "Out of the Synagogue" is a literal translation of the Greek word used by Alexander. The word occurs twice in John's Gospel (ix. 22, and xvi. 2). The sense is there clear, to be cast out of the Synagogue being a well-known Jewish punishment. But what the term means as applied to Lucian by Alexander, who does not explain, the learned find it difficult to decide. Tillemont, after discussing the subject, very frankly says, that he will venture to determine nothing respecting it, since history has determined nothing. *Mém. Eccles.*, v. 202, and n. 347.

‡ Ap. Theod. *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. i. c. 5. § Soc., ii. 10; Soz., iii. 5.

doubt of his orthodoxy. In truth, we suppose that it was of no higher stamp than the orthodoxy of his age, — that of Theognostus, Pierius, and Methodius, or the disciples of Origen generally, perhaps on some points verging a little more decidedly towards Arianism. Thus it is clear that the attempt of Noëtus, Sabellius, and others, to reconcile the divinity of the Son with the unity of God, had met with little success. The Sabellian principle, that the Logos had no separate personality, or was not a self-subsistent being, was, in the eyes of the Oriental bishops, rank heresy. The tendency, as we have said, was now in the opposite direction.

CHAPTER II.

CYPRIAN. — MAKES THE SON SUBORDINATE. — CONFOUNDS THE SPIRIT WITH THE LOGOS. — NOVATIAN. — PROOFS FROM HIM OF THE DERIVED NATURE AND INFERIORITY OF THE SON. — HOW HE PRESERVED THE UNITY OF GOD. — HIS VIEWS OF THE SPIRIT. — ARNOBIUS. — HOW HE SPEAKS OF THE FATHER AND SON. — LACTANTIUS. — HIS LEARNING AND ELOQUENCE. — ADMITTED TO BE UNSOUND ON THE SUBJECT OF THE TRINITY. — PROOFS.

CYPRIAN.

SUCH were the Greek writers who immediately preceded the rise of Arianism. There are some Latin authors of note, however, of whose opinions we must say something before we proceed to the great controversy of the age. The first is Cyprian (Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus), an African by birth, and at the time of his martyrdom, A. D. 258, Bishop of Carthage. He was educated in Heathenism, and, according to Jerome, obtained celebrity as a teacher of rhetoric. After his conversion, which is attributed to Cæcilius, a presbyter of Carthage, whose name he took, he rose rapidly in the church. He was a great admirer of Tertullian, and was accustomed to read a portion of his writings every day, saying, "Give me my master." His style had something of the African taint: it was declamatory and rhetorical; but was much less hard than that of Tertullian. He left a variety of letters and treatises, relating mostly to Christian morality and discipline. From these it is not difficult to gather his sentiments concerning the nature of Christ. He speaks of God as "one," "supreme," and bestows on him other epithets which show that he regarded him as without partner or equal.

Referring to the Son he says, in his treatise on the "Vanity of Idols," — the "Word," or the "Son of God," who is "sent," is the "power of God, his Reason, his Wisdom and Glory." In connection with this he speaks of the Holy Spirit

as becoming "clothed with flesh," thus confounding the Spirit with the Logos. Many of the early Fathers did the same. In regard to the Spirit they wavered and were inconsistent with themselves, sometimes identifying it with the Logos, at other times making a difference. This is not surprising, as nothing had as yet been authoritatively determined respecting it, and there had been little discussion on the subject. In other parts of his writings Cyprian distinguishes the Spirit from the Logos, making it inferior in dignity to Christ himself, as being "sent" by him, he as superior *sending* it.* He calls Christ God, that is, as the Son of God, but clearly denies his supremacy. "If just men, who obeyed the divine precepts, could be called Gods, how much more," he says, "Christ the Son of God," alluding to John x. 34–37. Here is a palpable distinction, the Son, he whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, being clearly made subordinate.†

Again, after mentioning God the Creator as the Father of Christ, Cyprian adds: "The power by which we are baptized and sanctified, Christ received from the same Father whom he pronounced greater, by whom he prayed that he might be sanctified, whose will he fulfilled, to the point of drinking the cup, and submitting to death."‡ Again, "By the preaching and testimony of Christ himself, the Father who sent is to be first acknowledged, then Christ who was sent."§ Again, "All power is *given* to me."‖ All this proves that Cyprian never thought of a numerical identity of the Father and Son, but regarded them as two distinct beings, the Father being the Fountain and Giver of all the power and dignity possessed by the Son. One further passage we will give to this point. Thus our obligation to honor the Son is made by Cyprian to rest on the will and command of the Father. "The Father, God," says he, "commanded that his Son be adored, and the Apostle Paul, mindful of the divine precept, says, God exalted him, and gave him a name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven, things in earth, and things under the earth."¶ Thus all is of

* *Epist.* lxxiv. (Gersdorf), ad Pompeium, c. 5.
† *Test. adv. Judæos*, lib. ii. c. 6.
‡ *Epist.* lxxiii., ad Jubaian, c. 18.
§ *Ibid.*, c. 17.
‖ *Ibid.*, c. 5.
¶ *De Bono Patientiæ*, c. 24.

God. The ancient Christians had not learned that refinement of logic, by which he who sends and he who is sent are made one. They went on the assumption that they must necessarily be two. Certainly, to prove that they held the doctrine of the Trinity in a form at all resembling the modern, or Athanasian, we must go elsewhere than to the writings of Cyprian.

NOVATIAN.

A more important witness is Novatian, a theological writer of some eminence, a contemporary of Cyprian. His heresy, which consisted in his refusal to readmit to communion those who in a time of persecution had denied the faith, — the *Lapsed*, as they were called, — does not affect the value of his testimony on the subject of the Trinity, on which he wrote a work still extant.* Of all the writings of Christian antiquity which time has spared, relative to the doctrine of the Trinity, this is the most copious and full. It is a direct treatise on the subject, and wholly devoted to it. Cyprian, a good authority in this case, though he writes with great bitterness against Novatian, does not impugn his orthodoxy as regards the Trinity, but seems, by implication at least, to admit it; † and Sozomen says that he innovated on established doctrines only by his severe treatment of penitents.‡ His work, inserted in many editions of the writings of Tertullian, is called by Jerome an epitome of a treatise by that Father; but its style, which differs widely from that of Tertullian, marks it as original. Many, says Jerome, ignorantly attributed it to Cyprian. It was written by Novatian, presbyter of the Church of Rome, not before the year 250, probably in 256 or 257.

Novatian's orthodoxy, high as it is, falls far below the standard of subsequent centuries, when the doctrine of the Trinity was considered as in a manner defined and established. He never dreamed of asserting the equality of the Son with the Father. No Ante-Nicene writer furnishes more decisive testimony to the old doctrine of the undivided supremacy of the

* *De Regula Fidei, sive de Trinitate, Liber.* We use Jackson's edition, Lond. 1728.

† *Epist.* lxix., Gersdorf.

‡ *Hist. Eccles.*, vi. 24.

Father and the derived nature and inferiority of the Son. The Spirit he places still lower. Du Pin notices the charge of Rufinus and Jerome, that the book on the Trinity cited by them, supposed to be the same we now have, denies the divinity of the Holy Spirit.*

But let us proceed methodically. The first four chapters of Novatian's book relate to God. In his first chapter he says: "The rule of faith requires that first of all we believe in God the Father and omnipotent Lord, the most perfect Creator of all things, who suspended the heavens on high," etc. Then follows a sublime description of things created. In the three subsequent chapters, he proceeds to speak more at large of the attributes of the Divine Being, who is the "Maker of all things, — containing all, — moving, vivifying all"; — "without origin and without end," whom "no words can adequately describe and no mind comprehend," — in strength, virtue, beauty, truth, majesty, riches, power, goodness, surpassing all; "whom alone our Lord with reason pronounces good," — who is "immutable, one, without equal, unbegotten, infinite, incorruptible, and immortal." The epithets here applied to the Supreme God are never, either by Novatian or any other Ante-Nicene writer, applied to the Son.

In his ninth chapter he speaks of the Son. He bestows on him high titles, and once calls him "our Lord God"; but why and in what sense he is to be so regarded, the author clearly explains in subsequent parts of the treatise. Novatian believed Christ to be both God and man, but not in the modern or Athanasian sense. In him, says Novatian, the Divinity of the Word being united by "concretion" or commixture with human nature, constituting an indivisible unity, we hold him to be God according to the Scriptures.† He was God and man, but not, as Novatian teaches, the supreme God; man as born of man, God as born or begotten of God, according to the doctrine of the old Fathers, that what is born of God is God, that is, divine, consubstantial with God, as what is born of man is man, that is, human, consubstantial with man, numerical identity being excluded, there being only identity of

* *Eccles. Writers*, vol. i. art. "Novatian." Lond. 1698.

† Cap. 11.

kind or species. "Nature itself," says Novatian, "teaches us to hold him as man who is of man; so it teaches us to hold him as God who is of God." * So Christ is God and man. He has his origin from God, and sustains the same relation to him as a human being sustains to its father.

But the inferiority and dependence of the Son, as well as his distinct individual nature, are clearly asserted by Novatian in those very passages in which he ascribes to him the highest honor and dignity. Thus he speaks of him as "Lord and prince of the whole world," but adds that "all things were *delivered* to him by his Father." † Again, he is "prince of all the angels, before whom there was nothing except the Father," ‡ but the Father *was* before him. Here supreme, independent divinity is clearly denied him. The Son might be older than all creatures, older than the angels and the highest intelligences, as Novatian believed,§ might exist "before time," that is, as the expression meant, before the constitution of the world; but to assert this was very different from asserting that he was co-eternal with the Father, which the Ante-Nicene writers generally never thought of doing. Many of them believed, with Justin Martyr, that the Son was begotten a little before the creation of the world, or as the first step to creation; others were less definite; but all, Origen perhaps excepted, denied eternity proper to the Son, as such, that is, as a separate personal subsistence, or being. Novatian, as we have seen, asserts that the Father was before the Son; and he teaches the same in other places.

Passages without number might be quoted to show that he held the Son to be a distinct being from the Father and subordinate to him. In John i. 3, — "All things were made by him," — he recognizes the Son or Word only as minister of the Father, receiving and executing his commands.‖ He puts

* Cap. 11. Compare cc. 21, 23.

† *Ibid.* [So he is represented by Novatian as "*constituted* Lord and God of the whole creation," "universæ creaturæ et Dominus et Deus constitutus esse reperitur" (c. 20), and as "having *obtained from his Father* that he should be both God and Lord of all," — "hoc ipsum a Patre proprio consecutus, ut omnium et Deus esset et Dominus esset" (c. 22). See Jackson's note, pp. 163, 164. — Ed.]

‡ *Ibid.* § Cap. 16. ‖ Cap. 17.

a wholly Unitarian construction on the celebrated passage, "Who being in the form of God," etc. (Phil. ii. 6–12).* In the assertion, "I and my Father are one" (John x. 30), he does not find the supreme divinity of Christ, nor, according to the later orthodoxy, a numerical identity of Father and Son. "Number," that is, of persons, he says, "is not referred to, the neuter gender being used"; one thing, one in "concord, sentiment, and affection." He quotes as a parallel passage the assertion of Paul: "He that planteth and he that watereth are one" (1 Cor. iii. 8). Yet here are two; Paul and Apollos are not to be confounded, the neuter gender being used, as in the other instance. The case is argued by Novatian at some length, but the point will be readily perceived without further words.† Alluding to the same passage, "I and my Father are one," in another place, Novatian refers to the relation of sonship, and says that Christ would have it understood that he was "God as being the Son of God, not that he was the Father himself," ‡ that is, as being numerically one with him. This is not the inference which any of the old Fathers drew from the passage.

The "Father is greater than I," or "He who sent me is greater than I," as Novatian has it, is one of the proof texts which he cites to show that Christ is a distinct being from the Father, and occupies a second place. Novatian clearly takes the words in their most natural and obvious sense. The distinction of two natures, used in support of a different meaning, was the refinement of a later age. In this connection and to the same effect, (c. 26,) Novatian quotes numerous other passages, which, for the sake of brevity, we omit. We observe simply that they are the very passages which Unitarians are in the habit of adducing to prove the distinct nature and subordination of the Son to the Father, for which purpose, it is worthy of note, Novatian himself cites them. In his next chapter (the twenty-seventh), Novatian asserts that Christ is less than the Father as receiving sanctification from him. "If," says he, "he had been the Father," (the supreme God,) "he would have given sanctification, not received it."

* Cap. 22. † Cap. 27. Comp. c. 18.
‡ Cap. 15. See Jackson's note, p. 116.

Like the other ancient Fathers, Novatian attributes the theophanies of the Old Testament to the Son. For the Father himself, the supreme one, the only true God, is infinite, and cannot be contained within any limits of place; cannot ascend nor descend, but contains and fills all things. Not so the Son, who is capable of ascending and descending, and can be enclosed within space. Here is a very clear distinction. One is Supreme, Infinite, the other not; one fills all space, the other not, but can move from place to place and be enclosed within doors; one is visible, the other invisible.*

But if the Father is God, and Christ is God, in other than a Sabellian sense, how, it might be asked, does it appear that we have not two Gods? This question Novatian attempts to answer in his last two chapters, the thirtieth and thirty-first. In doing this, as we shall see, he repeats the Logos doctrine of the older Fathers, making the Son a divine being, having, after he was begotten, a distinct personal subsistence, but being subordinate to the Father, not co-equal and co-eternal with him. We pass over his thirtieth chapter, in which he rather plays round the subject than grapples with it, and give a brief summary of his argument in his thirty-first, chiefly in his own words. The Father, he says, though "Institutor and Creator of all, alone knows no origin; is invisible, immense, immortal, eternal; one God, of incomparable greatness, majesty, and power; of whom, when he willed, the Word or Son was begotten." He was "always in the Father," as his unbegotten virtue or energy, but had no distinct personal subsistence. For the "Father was not always Father." "The Father precedes him" (the Son), in that as Father he must be prior, since "he who has no origin must of necessity precede him who has an origin." The Father preceded all; the Son was "before all things [created], but was after the Father, by whose will all things were made" through him. He is "God as proceeding from God, constituting as Son a second person after the Father, but not preventing Him from being the One God." "If he were not begotten, there would be two unbegotten, and so two Gods." More Novatian adds in the same strain. If the Son were invisible, we should have two invis-

* Capp. 17, 18.

ibles, and so two Gods. And so, if he were incomprehensible. "But now, whatever he is, he is not of himself, but of the Father, as begotten of him." So all "discord," as to number, "as of two Gods," is removed. There is one "Principle and head of all things." The Son "does nothing of his own will, or his own counsel, but in all things obeys the precepts and commands of the Father." So there are not two Gods. There are not two "fountains" of Divinity, but one. "All things being subjected to him [Christ] by the Father, he is with them that are subjected, found in concord with the Father, who gave all and to whom all reverts." Thus is there one only "true and eternal God, the Father."

So Novatian saves the unity. The very gist of his argument is, that supreme divinity is not to be ascribed to Christ. He is not co-equal or co-eternal with the Father. Here is no part of the Athanasian Trinity. All is to be referred to the Father, the original Fountain, "Principle and Head of all." Christ was God, but not the one infinite God; not self-existent; not having a personal, individual being from eternity, but deriving his origin, divinity, power, and authority from the one only Supreme and Unbegotten God, the self-existent and Eternal One.

The inferiority of the Spirit is clearly asserted by Novatian. Thus, commenting on the words of Christ, "He shall receive of mine and shall show it unto you," he says, "Greater is Christ than the Paraclete; since the Paraclete could not receive of Christ, unless he were less than Christ." This passage was audaciously tampered with by Gagnæus, Novatian's first editor, who could not endure its plain meaning. The true text is restored by Jackson.*

Novatian, certainly, does not call the Spirit God or Lord, though he does not, as did some of the old Fathers, place it among the creatures made by the Son. We do not think that he clearly teaches its permanent personality even. He speaks of it mostly in Scripture language, as the "promised Spirit,"

* Cap. 16. For the manner in which the ancient Fathers spoke of the Holy Spirit, — many of them calling it a "creature," or "work," and none of them, if we except Tertullian, after he became a Montanist, "Lord" or "God," — see Jackson's notes, pp. 217, 371.

to be poured out in the "last days" on God's servants, referring to its effusion at Pentecost. It dwelt in "Christ alone in all its fulness," the fountain remaining in him affluent and overflowing. He connects it as a certain divine seed or germ with the second birth. In all this there is nothing which necessarily implies personality, and much which is inconsistent with it. Certainly Novatian does not exalt the Spirit into one of three co-equal persons, and he distinctly, as we have seen, asserts that it is "less than Christ," never calling it "God" or "Lord."

ARNOBIUS.

We return to Africa, where we find the young Arnobius teaching rhetoric with great reputation, as Jerome says, at Sicca. Jerome further tells us that his work in defence of Christianity was produced soon after his conversion, to prove his sincerity. It is supposed to have been written early in the fourth century, though some critics assign to it an earlier date. That part of it which is devoted to a refutation of Heathenism is very full, exhibiting minute and extensive reading on subjects connected with the religions of antiquity; but his knowledge of Christianity has been generally pronounced scanty and superficial. We must not look in his works for any very precise statements of doctrine. His orthodoxy appears to have been that of his age; that is, he maintained the supremacy of the Father, and makes the Son a different being and subordinate. Thus he speaks of the "omnipotent and just God," who is "alone unbegotten, immortal, and everlasting," — the "Father, governor, and Lord of all things." These and similar expressions are applied exclusively to the Father, never to Christ, who was "sent unto us by the Supreme King," and spake by his "command." He is the "giver of immortality," as the "Supreme King has appointed him to that office."* Lardner doubts whether the Holy Spirit is once mentioned by Arnobius; if so, it is in an obscure expression, of the meaning of which we cannot be certain.†

* *Adv. Nationes*, ii. 65; i. 81; ii. 35, and 2.

† See Martini, *Versuch*, etc., pp. 255, 256; Lardner, iii. 478. London, 1829.

LACTANTIUS.

Leaving Arnobius, we pass to his celebrated pupil Lactantius. Of the early life of Lactantius little or nothing is known. We are not informed even of the place of his nativity. It has been supposed by some to have been Firmium, in Italy; others make him of African birth, possibly a native of Numidia. Certain it is that he was early in Africa, and then studied rhetoric under Arnobius, of whom we have just spoken. The Emperor Diocletian, holding his court at Nicomedia, invited him, as Jerome says,* to take up his abode there, which he did. He there taught rhetoric, but Nicomedia being a Greek city, he had few pupils. Latin eloquence was in little demand. He gave himself up, therefore, to the writing of books, and was very poor, often wanting even the necessaries of life. In his old age Constantine engaged him to take charge of the education of his son Crispus, in Gaul. He has been called the most learned man of his time. At what period or where he ended his days, history has not told us. Treves, in Gaul, has been assigned as the place of his death, and the date given as between A. D. 325 and 330, but on no certain evidence.

There is no doubt of his extensive learning, but his want of judgment and critical skill has been generally admitted. For his eloquence he has been called the "Christian Cicero." Jerome says that he "flows like a river of Tullian eloquence"; but theologians and critics have found his works full of errors, amounting, according to some, to one hundred and seventy, partly philosophical and partly theological. Nothing could induce him to believe in the Antipodes. He makes himself very merry at the idea of such a thing, and treats it as absurd.† Of the fall of the angels he thought with Justin Martyr;‡ and like him he quotes without scruple the books of the Sibyls, and other productions of the kind, as genuine and authentic, and of equal weight with the Hebrew prophecies. He shared Justin's notions, too, of the millennium, for which Jerome ridicules him.§ This happy event Lactantius thought could not be delayed more than two hundred years.

* *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 80.
† *Inst.*, iii. 25.
‡ *Inst.*, ii. 15.
§ *Comment. ad Ezekiel.*, c. 36.

Lactantius is generally admitted to have been unsound on the subject of the Trinity, as the doctrine was explained in times subsequent to the Council of Nice. We will quote a little of his language. The following is his account of the origin of the Son. "Before this glorious world arose," says he, "God, the maker and disposer of all things, begat a holy and incorruptible, and incomprehensible Spirit, called his Son; and though he afterwards created innumerable others whom we call angels, yet this first-born alone was deemed worthy of the divine name." * The angels, according to Lactantius, were created immediately by God, but, "between this Son of God and the other angels, there is," says he, "a great difference." † But his subordination to the Father is expressly taught by Lactantius. God, says he, when he formed the world, "placed this his first and greatest Son over the whole work, and used him as his counsellor and artificer in planning, adorning, and perfecting things." ‡ His loyalty, obedience, and testimony to the one only God, are thus stated by Lactantius, who says that he is of a "middle nature or substance between God and man."§ "He showed himself true to God, and taught that there is one God, who alone is to be worshipped; neither did he once call himself God, for he could not have been true to his commission, if being sent that he might destroy the belief in Gods [many Gods], and teach one God, he had introduced another beside this one. Because he was thus faithful, assuming nothing to himself, but fulfilling the commands of him that sent him, he *received* the dignity of a perpetual priesthood, and the honors of the highest king, and the power of judge, and the name of God." ‖

No one can read these extracts, we think, without perceiving that here are two beings, entirely distinct, one first and supreme, the other subordinate; one giving, the other receiving. The union between the two is thus explained by Lactantius. He takes the example of a father and son occupying the same house, the son remaining subject to the father. Though the father grants the name and authority of master

* *Inst.*, iv. 6. † *Ibid.*, iv. 8. ‡ *Ibid.*, ii. 9.
§ "Mediam inter Deum et hominem substantiam gerens." — *Inst.*, iv. 13.
‖ *Inst.*, iv. 13, 14.

to the son, yet, as they are perfectly united in will and consent, we may say that there is but one house and one master. "So," he proceeds, "this world is one house, and the Son and Father who inhabit it and are of one mind, are one God; for one is as both, and both are as one. Nor is there anything surprising in this: since the Son is in the Father, because the Father loves the Son; and the Father in the Son, because the Son faithfully obeys the will of the Father, nor ever does nor did anything except what the Father has willed or commanded." * Here is no trace of the later orthodoxy. According to Lactantius, the only union between the Father and Son is one of will and affection. He calls the Son God, but speaks of him as "created," and as possessing only derived dignity and power. The Son, he says, merited the title of God, "on account of the virtue he taught and exemplified." "On account of the virtue and fidelity he exhibited on earth there are given him a kingdom and honor and dominion, that all people and tribes and tongues should serve him.†

We might quote more to the same purpose; but the above is sufficient to show the views Lactantius entertained of the inferior and derived nature and dignity of the Son. He knew nothing of the atonement in the modern sense of the term. Christ died and rose again, he tells us, that he might "give man the hope of overcoming death, and conduct him to the rewards of immortality." ‡ "In some of his books, and especially in his Epistles to Demetrian [now lost], he utterly denies," as Jerome testifies, "the personality of the Spirit; referring it, after the manner of the Jews, either to the Father or the Son." § Many, says the same writer, asserted along with him that the Holy Spirit is not a substance, but a name. Lactantius sometimes confounds it with the Logos.

Such was the orthodoxy of the age; and it was but one step removed from Arianism. The points of difference and identity we shall hereafter attempt to indicate. We proceed in our next chapter to our historical details.

* *Inst.*, iv. 29
† *Ibid.*, iv. 16, 25, 12.
‡ *Ibid.*, iv. 10.
§ *Epist.* 41, al. 65, ad Pammach. et Ocean.

ARIUS, AND THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.

CHAPTER I.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE. — BELIEF OF THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS. — ACCOUNT OF ARIUS. — ORIGIN OF THE CONTROVERSY. — POPULARITY OF ARIUS. — HIS PERSON AND MANNERS. — PROGRESS OF THE CONTROVERSY. — ARIUS IS EXPELLED FROM ALEXANDRIA, AND RETIRES TO PALESTINE. — HOW RECEIVED BY THE BISHOPS THERE. — EUSEBIUS OF NICOMEDIA. — PALESTINIAN COUNCIL. — ARIUS'S LETTER TO HIS BISHOP. — ALEXANDER WRITES LETTERS TO ALL PARTS. — TONGUES INSTEAD OF SPEARS.

THERE is a lull: but the calm is soon to end; the sky is to be darkened, and the winds are to be up. A stern conflict is commencing in the theological world, — the old world of the Fathers. Opinions are to be sifted, examined, defined; the past is to be questioned; new ideas are to be thrown out, new controversies to arise. The old ways are to be forsaken, and untrodden paths to be tried. Arius and Athanasius — resolute spirits both — are to come upon the stage. The head of the Roman Empire is to become Christian, and to mediate, and mediate in vain. The wound is never to be healed. Antiquity is to be appealed to, and its opinions are to go down, so far as authority can crush them; and dogmas, unknown to the Fathers, are to be enthroned in human belief.

The "Arian impiety," as the enemies of Arius called it, first appeared on the banks of the Nile; and the Devil, envious of the prosperity of the church under the first Christian emperor, they said, sowed the seeds of it. All the ante-Nicene Fathers, however, admitted the inferiority of the Son to the Father. This implied, that, in their opinion, they were two essences, which some of them distinctly assert. It is true, the learned Platonizing Fathers sometimes use expressions which now bear an orthodox sense; and it is hastily inferred,

therefore, that they were orthodox in the modern signification of the term. But nothing could be further from the truth. A very moderate acquaintance with the remains of Christian antiquity must, we think, convince any unprejudiced mind, that the language in question was used by the Fathers in a sense totally different from that now attributed to it. If we go on the assumption that they employed it in the modern sense, we shall mistake their sentiments at every step. Thus they occasionally make use of a phraseology, which, in the mouth of a modern Trinitarian, would imply a belief that the Son is of one numerical essence with the Father. But this they never thought of asserting. The most they meant to affirm was, that the Son, as begotten of God, partook in some sort of the same specific nature (that is, a divine), just as an individual of our race partakes of the same nature or essence with the parent from whom he sprung (that is, a human). At the same time, they taught that he was relatively inferior to the Father, from whom he was derived, and entitled to only inferior homage. He was not uncaused, as the Father was. He had a beginning: the Father had none. He was the minister of the Father, and in all things subject to his will. This all asserted, if we except Origen, who differed from others by indulging in some subtile and obscure speculations in regard to a "beginningless" creation, and "beginningless generation of the Son."

The incidents of the life of Arius, before he promulgated his obnoxious sentiments, so far as preserved, are soon related. Epiphanius tells us that he was said to have come from Libya, "a part of Africa," says the pious Maimbourg, "beyond all other, fruitful of monsters; for before this time it produced the heretic Sabellius." From an expression in one of his own letters, it has been inferred that his father's name was Ammonius; but this is matter of doubt. He was made deacon by Peter, then Bishop of Alexandria; but afterwards incurred his displeasure by the freedom he took in censuring his conduct in regard to the Meletians, which Arius, who is accused of having been formerly too partial to the sect, thought illiberal and harsh. For this offence he was excommunicated. Under Achillas, the successor of Peter, he was, as Sozomen informs

us, restored, and promoted to the rank of presbyter. Achillas was soon succeeded by Alexander, and Arius for some time enjoyed his confidence and friendship. He had the care of a parish church in Alexandria, called Baucalis,* where he preached, and had full liberty to declare his sentiments.†

Theodoret says that he was intrusted with the exposition of the Scriptures, which has led to the supposition that he was once connected with the Catechetical School; but of this there is no satisfactory evidence. It is said that he taught not only in his church, but in private; and he was accused by his enemies of going from house to house in the endeavor to "draw men over to his sentiments." These are base charges, which may mean nothing more than that he faithfully performed his pastoral duties, which was to his credit.

Of the origin of his controversy with his bishop, accounts in some respects differ. Sozomen ‡ tells us, and Epiphanius, as we shall hereafter see, intimates the same, that Alexander did not interfere for some time after Arius began to divulge his novel opinions; that he was blamed for his neglect or forbearance; that in consequence of the complaints of the enemies of Arius, or of those who rejected his opinions, he was at length induced to appoint successively two conferences, at which Arius and his opponents discussed the question at issue; that Alexander was for a time in some suspense, inclining "first to one party, and then to the other"; but that he finally decided against the presbyter.

This, however, seems to be a somewhat imperfect account of the matter. According to other authorities, some of them entitled to full as much credit, Alexander himself, by his innovations and extravagances, furnished occasion of the dispute. Constantine certainly, in a letter addressed to the parties,§ throws the blame on Alexander, whom he accuses of troubling his priests with foolish and unprofitable questions, which should never have been asked; or, if asked, ought not to have been answered. Socrates ‖ and Theodoret,¶ in the main, confirm

* The oldest in the city, containing, it is said, the tomb of St. Mark; and in it took place the election of the Patriarch.

† Epiphan. *Hær.*, lxix.; Theod. *Hist.*, lib. i. c. 2.

‡ *Hist.*, lib. i. c. 15.

§ Euseb. *Vita Const.* ii. 69.

‖ Lib. i. c. 5.

¶ Lib. i. c. 2.

this statement. According to the former, Alexander having one day discoursed with a little too much subtilty on the subject of the Trinity in the presence of his clergy, Arius thought that his language savored of Sabellianism, and, in arguing against him, went to the opposite extreme. Arius, too, in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, still extant,* represents Alexander as an innovator; and if the expressions he attributes to him were really his, which we see no reason to doubt, he certainly was so. Thus: "Always God, always the Son; as the Father, so is the Son; the Son is unbegotten as the Father; neither in thought, nor the least point of time, does God precede the Son; always God, always the Son."

These are expressions to which the ears even of the orthodox were then unaccustomed. Arius says he could not assent to them, and hence was driven from the city as an atheist, which had the usual effect of persecution, for it only added to his success and growing influence.

Arius had some marked intellectual traits. Neander ascribes to him a "strong predilection for logical clearness and intelligibility." The influence of the Antiochian School, which entered into a sharp conflict with the Sabellians, could be distinctly traced in his peculiar exegetical tendencies. He possessed great logical acumen, which gave him the advantage in argument.

For our knowledge of his person and habits we are indebted mainly to the representations of his enemies. These representations contain many statements and admissions in the highest degree honorable to him. They are vouchers for his integrity, the innocence of his life, and his many estimable qualities, which endeared him to multitudes of his fellow-citizens at Alexandria, and procured him numerous friends in his exile.

He is said to have been an old man when the controversy broke out, though of his precise age we know nothing, as we have not the date of his birth. But he had probably long passed the period of middle life at least. In person he is said to have been very tall, of a lithe frame and thin, with pensive

* The letter is found in Theod., lib. i. c. 5, and Epiphanius, *Hær.*, lxix. c. 6, with some variation; not, however, materially affecting the sense.

and somewhat melancholy features, combined with a peculiar sweetness of countenance and tones, and a certain fascination of manner which it was difficult to resist. He was fluent, bland, and persuasive in speech, and was modestly attired in a scanty (Epiphanius says a half) cloak.* The females of Alexandria were strongly inclined to his side. Among the devout women of the place he had seven hundred followers clearly occupying a reputable position, and a fair proportion of them, it may be presumed, possessing intellectual culture. So firm was their adhesion to him that nothing — no force nor threats, and no fears of church censure — could induce them to renounce him or his opinions.

The above-mentioned traits of his person and manners have been transmitted to us by his enemies. As a matter of course, they put their own construction on his conduct and motives, ascribing to him jealousy, restlessness, and ambition, and all the subtlety and wiles of the serpent, by which he deceived the unwary, drawing them over to his opinions and making them his fast friends. His adversaries — such is the virulence of

* In describing the person and character of Arius some caution is necessary as to the sources whence the materials are drawn. We find no description of his person in any contemporary author. Epiphanius lived in the fourth century, was narrow, violent, and bigoted, and his authority, when not supported by other writers, is not above suspicion. He is often inaccurate, and was especially hostile to the Arians; and what he says of the founder of the sect, therefore, requires to be carefully sifted, and allowance must be made for the force of prejudice. Gelasius of Cyzicus, as an authority, is nearly worthless. He wrote in the latter part of the fifth century. Portions of his "Acts of the First Council" Cave believed to be pure inventions. Tillemont, though he repeatedly quotes the work, yet held it in slight esteem; and Du Pin expresses absolute contempt for it. In the third book, as we now have it, there is a letter ascribed to Constantine; but its genuineness is, to say the least, very questionable, and it is a document entitled to no respect. The Oxford translator of some of the treatises of Athanasius (J. H. Newman), speaks of it as an "invective," and says that it is "like a school exercise or fancy composition," adding that it is "inconsistent with itself." (*Library of the Fathers*, viii. 183.) Dr. Stanley, in his "History of the Eastern Church," describes it as "mixed in about equal proportions of puns on his [Arius's] name, of jests on his personal appearance, of eager attacks upon his doctrine, and of supposed prophecies against him in the Sibylline books." Yet strangely enough he has made use of it in the very extraordinary portrait he has drawn of the Alexandrian heresiarch. See an article on Dr. Stanley and Arius in the *Christian Examiner* (published in Boston) for March, 1862. [The article referred to was written by Dr. Lamson. — Ed.]

theological prejudice — denounce his doctrines as blasphemous; and there is no epithet of abuse they do not heap upon him, except only that they accuse him of no immorality. No whisper of impurity of life has come down to us from the many enemies of his name and fame, a sure proof that no stain rested on his character.

To his other qualities he added great earnestness. He was evidently sincere; he abounded in zeal, and was susceptible neither of being intimidated by threats, nor lured by favor. He possessed the courage of a martyr; and sooner than profess his assent to opinions he did not believe, he would "die," as he says in his letter to Eusebius, "a thousand deaths." The consequence of all was, he was now immensely popular, and his opinions were rapidly spreading. They soon diffused themselves beyond the walls of Alexandria into Libya and the upper Thebais, as they subsequently did in the "congenial atmosphere" of Syria, where among the bishops, as Milman observes, "the most learned, the most pious, the most influential, united themselves with his party."

That such men as Alexander, the old bishop, and the young and aspiring Athanasius, already panting for distinction, — the passions which rendered his after-life so agitated and full of strange vicissitude beginning to stir in his breast, — should resolve to overthrow this popular idol who stood in their way, is all very natural. Athanasius has not yet appeared on the stage; he is biding his time. But Alexander is now all zeal, Meletius, at this time the enemy of Arius, conveying, if we may believe Epiphanius, complaints to his ear, which served to fan the growing flame.

Nor is this statement inconsistent with the supposition that Alexander himself, by his imprudence, had excited the controversy. Arius might have believed it his duty, in discharging his office as pastor and teacher, to inculcate what he conceived to be sound views of Christian doctrine in opposition to the rash, and, as it appeared to him, novel assertions of his bishop; and the latter, if acquainted with the circumstance, might not have thought himself called upon immediately to interpose. A certain latitude, as it appears, was allowed to the priests of the several churches of Alexandria in the expression of their senti-

ments; and it might not at first have been clear that Arius had exceeded it. Or, if he had, the tide was as yet setting in his favor, and it might have required some courage to stem it.

The hesitation ascribed to Alexander, too, may be accounted for, in part, by the supposition, that the change which his opinions underwent about this time was gradual, and that he did not at first reach the extreme point. He might, originally, have thrown out some unadvised expressions concerning the nature of the Son; though he as yet held, in the main, the popular belief. These expressions gave rise to controversy; and, upon listening to a discussion of the subject, the bishop for a moment, it would seem, felt embarrassed by the weight of authority and argument which Arius was able to bring in support of his views. From this embarrassment, however, he soon recovered. Envy of the popular fame of Arius (for this passion was attributed to him) might have caused him to feel an increased aversion to his sentiments; and the progress of the controversy served still further to separate the combatants, till Alexander was led to express himself in the rash manner above related, and insist that all his clergy should echo his opinions. That Alexander's mind went through some such process as this, there can be little doubt. We have evidence of his change of sentiments, not only from the testimony of Arius, but from his own writings. Even after the expulsion of Arius from Alexandria, he continued occasionally, from the effect of habit, to use language which savored strongly of the old school.

But, whatever might have been his previous views, Alexander now soon showed that he was resolved to exert his influence and authority to the full. He first makes use of counsel and admonition; and finally "*commands* Arius to embrace his sentiments," and discard his own. But Arius was not the man to change his opinions, or profess to change them, in consequence of the "command" of a spiritual superior. Alexander, as Socrates tells us,* now becomes enraged, and, assembling a council of bishops and priests, excommunicates him and his followers, and he is ordered to leave the city. We are told by Arius, in the letter already alluded to, that Eusebius of Cæsarea, and several others whom he names, and "all

* *Hist.*, lib. i. c. 6.

the Oriental bishops," since they asserted that "the Father existed before the Son, being without beginning," were anathematized, except only Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius, whom he pronounces ignorant heretics. So general, at this time, was the leaning towards the sentiments of Arius, who is said, on the death of Achillas, to have declined the episcopal dignity in the metropolis of Egypt.*

Arius was excommunicated and deposed, as is generally supposed, about the year 320; Neander says, 321. After he and his friends had been expelled from the Church, many of the people, as Sozomen informs us, still adhered to him, consisting partly of such as approved his opinions, and partly of those who sympathized with his hard fate, thinking that he had been harshly treated by his bishop.† Arius soon after retires into Palestine, visits the several bishops there, and endeavors to procure favor for himself and his doctrine. He was well received by some, says Epiphanius, and repulsed by others. Among the former was Eusebius the historian, Bishop of Cæsarea. It was while residing with him, if Epiphanius is to be trusted, that he wrote the letter, already mentioned, to the Bishop of Nicomedia. He addresses him as the "orthodox

* The above account, meagre as it is, embraces all the information we can collect in relation to the origin of the Arian controversy. Theodoret, indeed, asserts that the heresiarch was instigated by envy and disappointment; Alexander having been preferred to the bishopric, to which he thought he had superior claims. But of this he offers no shadow of proof; and his assertion is contradicted by Philostorgius, who tells us (*Hist.*, lib. i. c. 3) that Arius, seeing the votes inclining to himself, generously caused them to be transferred to his rival. The truth is, Theodoret was a man of violent prejudices, and a great bigot, and never speaks of Arius but in terms of extreme acrimony.

Philostorgius was an Arian historian; and it would be satisfactory to be able to compare his statements throughout with those of the orthodox. It is always well, if we can, to hear the evidence on both sides. But the original work of Philostorgius is unfortunately lost; and we have only a brief abstract of its contents by the orthodox Photius, who shows himself exceedingly bitter against the author. His usual manner of commencing his sections is, "the impious Philostorgius," "this enemy of God," "this artificer of lies," "this wretch," says so and so. The little we have of him gives a complexion to the history of the times very different from what it assumes in the narratives of the orthodox. His history commences with the rise of the Arian controversy, and embraces the period of a little more than a century, including his own times.

† *Hist.*, lib. i. c. 15.

Eusebius," and proceeds with much brevity and neatness to give an account of the nature and result of his controversy with Alexander. His own sentiments are stated in simple and intelligible language. He writes with feeling, but without bitterness.

Eusebius of Nicomedia was distinguished for rank and talents; and the circumstance that the imperial residence was then at Nicomedia gave him additional influence. Socrates complains that a multitude of bishops were obsequious to him. He became the personal friend of Arius, espoused his cause with warmth, and proved an able advocate for his opinions. He wrote many letters in his favor to Alexander and others, and from this time may be regarded, in fact, as the chief of the sect; and hence the Arians were afterwards often called Eusebians. One of his letters, addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre, is still extant.* It was written soon after the receipt of Arius's letter just mentioned; and is particularly valuable, as it contains a short and clear exposition of his own views, and of the generally received doctrine concerning the nature of the Son. "He never heard," he says, "that there were two unbegotten. We affirm that there is one unbegotten, and another who did in truth proceed from him, yet who was not made out of his substance, and who does not at all participate in the nature or substance of him who is unbegotten. We believe him to be entirely distinct in nature and in power." The letter concludes with a request that Paulinus would write to Alexander, and induce him, if possible, to relent. Eusebius, besides, assembled a provincial council in Bithynia, which undertook the defence of Arius, and endeavored to procure his restoration to the communion of the churches, and particularly of the church of Alexandria.†

But Alexander remained inexorable. As in the days of Origen, however, there was a degree of freedom and liberality in Palestine which did not exist in Egypt; and at Arius's request, several of the bishops there, Eusebius of Cæsarea among the rest, met in council, and authorized him and his fellow-presbyters in exile to collect their adherents, and preach to them, and perform all the functions of presbyters as they

* Theod., lib. i. c. 6. † Sozomen, lib. i. c. 15.

had been accustomed to do at Alexandria.* Arius, it seems, after he left Palestine, passed some time with his friend at Nicomedia. While there, he wrote a letter to his bishop, which has been preserved. In this letter — which, throughout, breathes a temperate spirit — he gives at some length his views of the Father and Son, and says, "Our faith we have received from tradition, and learned from you." Again: that the Father existed before the Son, he says, "is what we learned of you, who preached it in the midst of the church." The letter was signed by Arius and five other priests, six deacons, and two bishops.† We have before alluded to the change of sentiment attributed to Alexander. We will simply add in this place, that the Arians constantly appealed to tradition as in their favor, and asserted that they held the ancient doctrine. This assertion must not be taken in the most rigid sense; though, to a certain extent, it was true. The Arians

* Sozomen, lib. i. c. 15.

† The letter is given by Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxix. cc. 7, 8), and, nearly entire, by Athanasius (*De Syn. Arim. et Seleuc.*, c. 16.) We subjoin the first half of it in Newman's translation (*Lib. of the Fathers*, viii. 96–98). "Our faith from our forefathers, which also we have learned from thee, Blessed Pope, [Papa,] is this: — We acknowledge one God, alone Ingenerate, alone Everlasting, alone Unoriginate, alone True, alone having Immortality, alone Wise, alone Good, alone Sovereign; Judge, Governor, and Providence of all, unalterable and unchangeable, just and good, God of Law and Prophets and New Testament; who generated an Only-begotten Son before eternal times, through whom he has made both the ages and the universe; and generated him, not in semblance, but in truth; and that he made him subsist at his own will unalterable and unchangeable; perfect creature of God, but not as one of the creatures; offspring, but not as one of things generated; not as Valentinus pronounced that the offspring of the Father was an issue; nor as Manichæus taught that the offspring was a portion of the Father, one in substance; or as Sabellius, dividing the One, speaks of a Son-and-Father; nor as Hieracas, of one torch from another, or as a lamp divided into two; nor of him who was before, being afterwards generated or new-created into a Son, as thou, too, thyself, Blessed Pope, in the midst of the church and in session hast often condemned; but as we say, at the will of God, created before times and before ages, and gaining life and being from the Father, who gave subsistence to his glories together with him. For the Father did not, in giving to him the inheritance of all things, deprive himself of what he has ingenerately in himself; for he is the fountain of all things." In the remaining part of the letter it is asserted that the Son is "not eternal or co-eternal with the Father"; "God is before all things as being a One and an origin of all. Wherefore he is before the Son; as we have learned also from thy preaching in the midst of the church."

could quote passages from the old writers, exceedingly embarrassing to their opponents. On some points, as the supremacy of the Father and his priority of existence, tradition was clearly in their favor; and they could say, with truth, that they held the old faith. The new doctrine embraced by the orthodox concerning the generation of the Son, they said, was pure Manicheism and Valentinianism.

But to return. While Arius was thus employed, Alexander, too, was busy in writing letters to all parts, cautioning the bishops against showing any favor to him or his doctrines. Of these, Epiphanius tells us, about seventy existed in his time. Two of them are still extant, — one in Socrates,* and the other in Theodoret.† They are written with no little acrimony, and, we are constrained to say, form an unfavorable contrast with those of Arius. In one of them, addressed to Alexander, Bishop of Byzantium, Eusebius of Nicomedia comes in for a large share of abuse. In fact, Alexander spares no effort to render the whole party odious. He calls them "apostates," "impious," "enemies of Christ," the most audacious of all the corrupters of Christianity; causing "all preceding heresies to appear in comparison innocent," such were the blasphemies they uttered wherever they went. He was "troubled," he says, "at the destruction of these men"; but, he adds, "The same thing befell Hymenæus and Philetus, and, before them, Judas." They were the men, he says, whose coming was predicted by our Saviour, and who should "deceive many"; the same also to whom St. Paul alluded, "who should depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; hating the truth."

Eusebius was still further provoked, and the war of words continued. Numerous letters were written by the friends and enemies of Arius. He collected and preserved those written in his defence, as did Alexander those written against him; and they were afterwards appealed to by different parties as authoritative documents.‡

The dispute, by this time, had become a serious matter. Prelates contended in the churches, the people were rent into factions, and all places were filled with discord and tumult.

* Lib. i. c. 6. † Lib. i. c. 4. ‡ Soc., lib. i. c. 6.

Embassies were sent into all the provinces, men's passions became more and more inflamed from day to day, and the whole empire exhibited a scene of violence and strife. "They fought against each other," says Theodoret, "with their tongues instead of spears." * Even Pagans were scandalized, and their theatres resounded with ridicule of the Christians.†

* Lib. i. c. 6.

† Euseb. *Vita Const.*, ii. 61.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTANTINE INTERFERES. — COUNCIL OF NICE. — ITS CHARACTER. — OPINIONS OF ARIUS. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL. — DIFFICULTY IN FRAMING A SYMBOL. — EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA OFFERS A CREED. — RESULT. — NONSUBSCRIBING BISHOPS. — CONDEMNATION AND EXILE OF ARIUS. — CONSTANTINE AFTERWARDS ESPOUSES HIS CAUSE. — HIS RETURN TO ALEXANDRIA. — ATHANASIUS. — COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM READMITS ARIUS TO COMMUNION. — EXILE OF ATHANASIUS. — LAST DAYS OF ARIUS. — DEATH, CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS. — THE "THALIA."

CONSTANTINE was now induced to interfere, and sent Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, to Alexandria with the letter before mentioned, designed to soften the feelings of the parties, and, if possible, restore harmony. He blames all concerned, but especially Alexander; and represents the question at issue as very frivolous, — a mere dispute about words.* They did not in reality differ in sentiment, he tells them; certainly not in any important particular. They might think indifferently on some minute points; but this need not prevent union; they should, in such a case, keep their thoughts to themselves. Finally, he beseeches them to forget and forgive, and thus "restore to him serene days, and nights void of care"; for their contentions had caused him "excessive grief."

But the evil was of too great magnitude to be thus repressed. The letter produced no effect. Alexander was inflexible; and the Arians, though asking only for toleration, refused to retract, and the dispute ran higher than ever. A question arose, too, about the time of keeping Easter, which, though it excited little interest in the West, occasioned no small contention in the East. The emperor, despairing of any other remedy, now resolves to summon a general council.

It was the wish of Constantine that the bishops from all

* Some orthodox writers have been shocked that Constantine should have made light of so serious a matter; and have supposed, says Dr. Jortin, that, when he wrote the letter, "he had some evil counsellor at his elbow, either Satan or Eusebius." He certainly had the orthodox Hosius at his elbow.

parts of the empire should attend; and, that there might be no unnecessary delay, those who had not ready means of conveyance were authorized to make use of post-horses and public vehicles. Thither they came from the various provinces, accompanied by a multitude of priests, deacons, and others. The number of bishops present is variously stated by historians. Eusebius says it exceeded two hundred and fifty;* or as Socrates, who quotes the passage, gives it, three hundred. Constantine makes it three hundred and upwards; and Athanasius, three hundred and eighteen, or, as he expresses himself in another place, about three hundred. Theodoret gives three hundred and eighteen; which is the number generally adopted.† Their number is of less consequence than their character. Eusebius extols them for learning and other eminent qualities; but Sabinus, a Macedonian Bishop of Heraclea, in his collection of the "Acts of Councils," calls them stupid and illiterate.‡ Neither the praise nor the censure was probably, in its full extent, deserved. The members of the council were, no doubt, what assemblies of divines have usually been, — some ignorant; some crafty; some having in view the gratification of private feelings or the advancement of personal interests; some weak; some passionate; some arbitrary and domineering; some indolent, timid, and yielding; a few wise and modest; but more, empty, conceited, and noisy. So it was with the Fathers of Nice. With regard to the charge of Sabinus, Socrates gets them off by saying that they were supernaturally illuminated; so their original deficiencies ought not to impair our reverence for their decisions.

The council met about the middle of June, A. D. 325; and there were present, besides Christians, several Pagan philosophers, some of them attracted, no doubt, by curiosity, and others, as Sozomen says,§ burning with a desire to encounter the Christians in argument, being enraged against them on account of the recent overthrow of Paganism.

As the subject which chiefly engaged the attention of the council had reference to Arius and his opinions, this may be the proper time to state what those opinions were, and in what

* *Vita Const.*, iii. 8; Soc., lib. i. c. 8.
† Lib. i. c. 7.
‡ Soc., lib. i. c. 8.
§ Lib. i. c. 18.

respect they differed from those of the learned Fathers who preceded him. The strict and proper inferiority of the Son, as we have shown, was asserted by all the ante-Nicene Fathers. Further: it was believed by those Fathers (Origen excepted) that the Son was begotten in time, and not from eternity. So far, Arius trod in their steps. But then the Fathers had some mystical notions, derived from the later Platonists, about the origin of the Son, who, as they supposed, had a sort of metaphysical existence in the Father from eternity; in other words, existed as his Logos, Wisdom, or Reason; that is, as an attribute, which was afterwards converted into a real person by a voluntary act of the Father. This Platonic mysticism, Arius, who was remarkably clear-headed, discarded; and this was the grand point of distinction between the doctrine of Arius and that of the Fathers, — a distinction which would seem at first view, as Constantine originally considered it, to be of a somewhat shadowy nature, but yet a real one.*

The characteristic dogma of Arius was, that the Son was originally produced out of nothing; and, consequently, there was a time when he did not exist. He maintained that he was a great preëxistent spirit, — the first and chief of all derived beings; that this spirit became afterwards united with a human body, and supplied the place of the rational soul. Some of the preceding Fathers attributed a human soul as well as body to Jesus; which, however, was so absorbed in the divine part of his nature, that they were, in a strict sense, one spirit, and not two, as modern Trinitarians affirm or im-

* The difference, we say, was a real one; yet, independently of the direct testimony heretofore adduced, the whole aspect of the controversy before the Council of Nice shows that the old doctrine was on the confines of Arianism. Hence the perplexity into which a large part of the Christian world was thrown on the first publication of the opinions of Arius, and their rapid diffusion over Egypt and the several provinces of the East. The Oriental bishops generally, as above stated, and two councils (one in Bithynia, and the other in Palestine), favored them; and the supporters and friends of Arius were among the best and most learned men of the age. Add the indecision attributed to Alexander, and the impression of Constantine that the controversy was a very frivolous one, which, we have a right to infer, was also the impression of Hosius, who was then in his confidence, and, no doubt, one of his advisers. These facts afford pretty decisive evidence, had we no other, that the line between the old and new opinions, though visible, was not a very broad one; and that Arius, in fact, did little more than reject a metaphysical subtilty.

ply. Such was Origen's opinion. According to the theology of Arius, however, the human soul was wanting in Jesus Christ; and he was a compound being only in the sense in which all human beings are: that is, he consisted of a body, and one simple, undivided, and finite spirit. "We believe," says he, "and teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor in any manner part of the Unbegotten; that he was not made of matter subsisting, but, by will and counsel [that is, of the Father], existed before the times and the ages, full, only-begotten God, unalterable: who, before he was begotten, or created, or purposed, or constituted, was not; for he is not unbegotten." This language occurs in his letter to Eusebius.* Similar language, but more precise and pointed still, occurs in the letter to Alexander before quoted.† We add a short extract from the "Thalia," as quoted by Athanasius.‡ Thus, "God was not always a Father, but there was, when God was alone, and was not yet Father: the Son was not always. For all things being made out of nothing, and all creatures and works being made, the Word of God himself was made out of nothing, and once he was not; he was not before he was begotten." Such was the belief of Arius. He was accused by his enemies — Alexander, Athanasius, and others — of teaching that the Son, who possesses free will, is by nature mutable like ourselves, that is, we suppose, theoretically. Absolute immutability can be predicated of One only, — the Infinite and Eternal. But the Son, as Arius taught, is by his own will unchangeable, ever remaining unalterably good.

We will add here some statements of Neander — confirmatory of our own — respecting the opinions of Arius, and their relation to the belief of preceding ages. Arius was not "disposed," he says, "to establish a new dogma." "Arius certainly did not believe that he was preaching a new doctrine, but only bringing out and establishing the old church subordination system." He quotes Arius as saying "We must either suppose two divine original essences without beginning, and independent of each other; or we must not shrink from asserting that the Logos had a beginning of his existence; that

* Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxix. c. 6.

† *Orat.* i. *cont. Arian.*, § 5.

‡ See before, p. 248, note.

there was a moment when he did not as yet exist." "Those passages of the New Testament in which he believed he found the expression 'made' applied to Christ (as Acts ii. 36, and Heb. iii. 2), or in which he is styled the 'First-born,' he could," says Neander, "cite in favor of his theory." "He intended by no means to lower the dignity of Christ, but would ascribe to him the greatest dignity which a being could have after God, without entirely annihilating the distinction between that being and God. God created him or begat him, . . . a being as like to himself in perfections as any creature can be, for the purpose of producing, by the instrumentality of this being, the whole creation." This was the old doctrine. Still, the distance between a creature and the Creator must be infinite. This Arius did not "shrink from expressing." But, Neander adds, "This, in fact, Origen had already expressed in affirming, that, as God is, in essence, infinitely exalted above all created beings, so too, in essence, he was infinitely exalted above the highest of created beings, — the Son; and the latter, in essence, could not at all be compared with him." Arius attributed to the Son a "moral immutability of will." He doubtless "believed that he was maintaining the ancient doctrine of the church." "He was intending simply to defend the old doctrine." So little difference was there, according to Neander, between the doctrine of Arius and that of preceding ages.*

One word here in regard to time. Time is measured by sun, moon, and stars. The expressions "before time and the ages," or "when time was not," as used by the old Christian writers, then, means before the existence of the material universe, when as yet there was no computation of time, and no measure of it.† These and similar phrases, however, as used

* *Hist. Christ. Relig. and Church*, vol. ii. pp. 861–865; *Hist. Christ. Dogm.*, pp. 286, 287.

† So Philo: "Before the world, time had no existence, but was created either simultaneously with it, or after it." Time being connected with the motion of the heavens, it "follows of necessity that it was created either at the same moment with the world, or later than it." Again: "It would be a sign of great simplicity to think that the world was created in six days, or *indeed at all in time*. . . . One must confess that time is a thing posterior to the world. Therefore it would be correctly said that the world was not created in time, but that time had its existence in consequence of the world." *De*

by the Fathers, did not mean "from eternity." God alone, as it was believed and taught, was eternal, without beginning. The Son had a beginning before time and the ages, but not from eternity. Justin Martyr, who led the way in these refined and intricate speculations concerning the generation of the Son, is a little more definite, and says that the Son was begotten, or created, *when* God was about to form and garnish the heavens and the earth, being the "beginning of his ways to his works."

The proceedings of the council are involved in great obscurity. We have no methodical account of them by any ancient writer. The information we possess is gleaned mostly from incidental notices, and uncertain and varying tradition, which often leaves us in doubt what to admit or reject. Eusebius breaks off his history abruptly before the commencement of the synod. In his "Life of Constantine," he gives us a few particulars; but, for the most part, substitutes rhetoric for history. His letter to his people, written at Nice during the session of the council, is indeed, as far as it goes, a precious document. Athanasius, then a young man, a deacon in the Alexandrian church, accompanied his bishop to the synod, and there first became known as a zealous champion of orthodoxy. His works contain frequent allusions to the debates and decrees of the council, but nothing from which we can construct a continuous narrative.* Besides these, we have the "Synodical Epistle," and two letters of Constantine, written at the time of the dispersion of the council. These are all the contemporary documents of any value which we possess. Subsequent writers are to be used, of course, with much caution; and even some of the original documents require to be carefully sifted, as they contain the reports of interested

Mundi Opif., c. 7; *Legum Alleg.*, lib. i. c. 2; *Opp.*, t. i. pp. 6, 44, ed. Mang. To say that Christ had an existence before time, then meant only that he existed before this material creation.

* Besides, Athanasius is not the very best authority in this case. "It is important," says Neander, "to remark, that, in the case of Athanasius, there are many things which would render it difficult for him to take an unbiased view of the proceedings." He says that Athanasius "distorts the true form of the facts." Eusebius of Cæsarea he thinks a far better authority in matters relating to the council than either Athanasius, or Eustathius of Antioch. *Hist. Christ. Relig. and Church*, vol. ii. pp. 872–875.

witnesses; and truth may be found in them distorted by passion and party prejudice.

The Fathers of the council certainly gave evidence of retaining the imperfections of our common nature. Their attention was not so absorbed with the great questions they were called to discuss, but they had time to think of their petty differences and private causes of dissatisfaction and complaint. Constantine undertook the office of pacificator; and it required all his authority and art to preserve among them the appearance of even tolerable decorum. It would seem that there had been a good deal of discussion before his arrival. On the day appointed, he entered the assembly; clad in his imperial robes, and glittering with gold and gems; and, all being seated, the bishop who sat next him on the right (as Eusebius the historian tells us, referring, according to Sozomen, to himself*) addressed him in a short speech; to which the emperor replied in a few words, in Latin, recommending peace and harmony. The debates, for some time, appear to have been conducted with no little acrimony; and much personal abuse was heard. The emperor, however, was patient: he listened, argued, and entreated (now speaking in Greek), and did all in his power to promote concord and amity. One circumstance is mentioned very much to his credit. The Fathers tormented him with written accusations against each other, which they were constantly placing in his hands. To put a stop to the proceeding, he assigned a day on which he would receive all papers of this sort; and, collecting them together, he burnt them, with all those he had previously received, without reading a word of them; telling his bishops that they must wait the decision of the day of final account and the sentence of the great Judge of all. As for himself, who was a mere mortal, he could not, he said, undertake to settle their differences.

Eusebius's description of the scene presented at the council is in his most florid vein. We will relieve the dryness of our narrative by a few quotations from it: "When the emperor's order was brought into all the provinces," he says, "all persons

* Theodoret, with the appearance of great improbability, confers the honor on Eustathius of Antioch.

set out, as it were, from some goal, and ran with all imaginable alacrity: for the hope of good things drew them, and the participation of peace, and the spectacle of a new miracle; to wit, the sight of so great an emperor. When, therefore, they were all come together, that which was done appeared to be the work of God: for they who were at the greatest distance one from another, not only in minds, but in bodies, regions, places, and provinces, were seen assembled together in one place; and one city received them all, as it were some vast garland of priests made up of a variety of beautiful flowers." He then enumerates the places from which they came; being ministers of the churches "which filled all Europe, Africa, and Asia."

Some of them, he says, were eminent for "wisdom and eloquence; some for integrity of life, and patient endurance of hardships"; some were "adorned with modesty and a courteous behavior"; some were "respected for their great age," and others rejoiced in "youthful vigor." The emperor provided food for them all. When the day for the opening of the council arrived, they assembled in the "middlemost edifice of the palace," where seats were placed "on both sides of the room." Each of them "took an agreeable seat." Then all is silence, in expectancy of the emperor. His heralds precede him. At a signal given, they all rise, and the emperor himself comes walking in "like some celestial angel of God, shining with his bright purple garment, as it were with the splendor of light, glistening with flaming rays, and adorned with the clear brightness of gold and precious stones. Such was the attire of his body." But his mind excelled all. He was "adorned with a fear and reverence of God." He cast down his eyes "with a blushing countenance"; and, by his gait and motion, manifested his modesty and humility. In "tallness of stature" he surpassed all who were about him, as also in a "magnificent gracefulness of body, and in an invincible strength and might." He moved majestically on to the upper end of the hall, and remained standing; till, a "low chair made of gold" being placed before him, the "bishops beckoned" him to be seated. Eusebius gives his opening speech, very flattering and complimentary to the bishops.*

* *Vita Const.*, lib. iii. cc. 6–12.

No little difficulty was experienced in framing a symbol which would prove generally acceptable, and, at the same time, have the effect of excluding the Arians. Their distinguishing dogma, as we have seen, was that the Son was produced out of nothing, and that there was a time when he did not exist. This was to be condemned, and the opposite doctrine affirmed. But the difficulty consisted in the selection of terms which the Orthodox could, and which the Arians, without a change of sentiments, could not, employ. It was at first proposed, as it would seem, to make use only of scriptural expressions, such as, "Christ is the Wisdom and the Power of God," the "brightness of his glory"; or others of a similar character. The Arians professed their readiness to adopt the same; but it was soon discovered that they could evade their force by putting on them a construction consistent with their own views, and thus their heresy might still lurk in the Church; the serpent would not be crushed. Eusebius of Cæsarea offered a creed, which, he says in his letter to his people, at first obtained the approbation of all, emperor and clergy; but it was found, upon examination, to contain no term which the Arians must of necessity reject, and would therefore be no sufficient test of orthodoxy. But, luckily for them, it was discovered from a letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia (which was heard with shuddering, and torn in pieces as soon as read), that he and the Arians had great dread of the term "consubstantial." Here, then, was precisely the term which was wanted. The word was immediately introduced into the creed just mentioned; and some other modifications or additions were made, and the symbol in its altered form was adopted. The Arians loudly remonstrated. They urged that the language in question was new; that it had not the sanction of the sacred writings or of antiquity: but their complaints were disregarded.

Such, in brief, is the history of the famous Nicene Creed.* It was first subscribed by Hosius; then by the two envoys of the Roman bishop; the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and

* For a history of the council, along with the original documents already named, see Soc., lib. i. c. 8; Theodoret, lib. i. c. 12; Sozomen, lib. i. cc. 17, 19–21; Euseb. *Vita Const.*, lib. iii. cc. 6–12.

Jerusalem; and finally by most of the others. Eusebius of Cæsarea at first hesitated on account of the new and unscriptural term "consubstantial" and some other expressions which had been introduced, and which he disliked. His scruples, however, were at length overcome; and he signed, not however, it seems, without great reluctance. He appears to have been aware that he exposed himself to the charge of fickleness or duplicity, and that some explanation or apology was necessary. He accordingly wrote to his parishioners in Cæsarea to put them in possession of the truth, and show, that, though "he resisted to the last hour for good reasons," he made no compromise of principle in finally yielding. He required, he says, an explanation of the obnoxious expressions. It was asserted, he tells them, that by the phrase, "of the substance of the Father," was meant, that "the Son is of the Father, but not as being part of the Father"; that is, "not part of his substance"; which opinion, he says, he thought sound. "It was concluded," he says, "that the expression, 'of the substance of the Father,' implies only that the Son of God does not resemble, in any one respect, the creatures which he has made; but that to the Father, who begat him, he is in all points perfectly similar." The phrase, "begotten, not made," he says, was used because the term "made" is common and applied to all creatures; whereas the Son, as begotten of the Father, is "of a more excellent substance than they."* With these explanations he was so far satisfied, he tells his people, that he gave his assent to the creed, as he says, "for the sake of peace."

With regard to the anathemas annexed to the creed, Eusebius says he found no difficulty in subscribing them, as they only prohibited the use of expressions not found in the Scriptures. Yet the creed contained such expressions; which were admitted, as we have seen, in opposition to the strongest remonstrances of the friends of rational freedom. From the use

* See the letter, as preserved by Theodoret, lib. i. c. 12, and Soc., lib. i. c. 8. Athanasius gives the same account of the matter. The council, he says, declare that the Son was "of the substance of the Father (consubstantial), to negative the Arian notion, that he was of things created, or was created out of nothing," was "a work, and alterable." — *De Syn. Nic. Decret.*, cc. 19, 20.

of such terms, Eusebius remarks in the same letter, "had come almost all the confusion and disturbance which had been raised in the church."

Five bishops still resisted, and refused to subscribe. These were Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Theonas, and Secundus.* Eusebius and Theognis afterwards consented to subscribe the creed, but resolutely refused to subscribe the anathemas against Arius, because, as they said, they attributed to him opinions which he did not hold.† Maris, it seems, did the same. They were reproached, however, for their insincerity and bad faith; and were said, at the suggestion of Constantia, the emperor's sister, to have used a very disingenuous artifice.‡

Theonas and Secundus, persevering in their opposition, were banished.§ Secundus, as Philostorgius tells us, when about to go, said to Eusebius, "You have subscribed, Eusebius, to save yourself from exile; but I am confident — for God has revealed it to me — that you will be banished within a year." The prediction was verified; for, within three months, Eusebius, having returned, as it is expressed, to his "former impiety," was exiled, as was also Theognis of Nice. They had continued, it appears, to teach the Arian doctrine, and had afforded an asylum to certain Arians, who, on account of their opinions, had been driven from Alexandria, and were therefore removed, and successors, by the command of the emperor, elected to fill their sees.‖

Arius and his adherents, his opinions, and his books, particularly his "Thalia," were anathematized and condemned,¶ and he was forbidden to enter Alexandria. The emperor confirmed the sentence of the council; and decreed, moreover, that the heresiarch and his followers should be branded with the name of Porphyrians. The more effectually to repress his "wicked doctrine," and cause every memorial of him to perish, he ordered that all his books should be burnt; and that any person who should be convicted of concealing

* Soc., lib. i. c. 8. † Ibid., c. 14. ‡ Philostorg., lib. i. c. 9.
§ *Epist. Synod.*, and Philostorg., lib. i. c. 9.
‖ Theod., lib. i. c. 19; *Const. Epist. ad Nicom.*, ibid., c. 20.
¶ *Epist. Synod.* ap. Soc., lib. i. c. 9.

any one of them, and of refusing immediately to produce and burn it, should be punished with death.*

The council, having finished its business, was dissolved late in August, after a session of a little more than two months.†

Neander takes notice of the fact, that many of the bishops composing the council signed the creed under compulsion, or in consequence of threats. The emperor, according to Eusebius, undertook himself to explain the term "consubstantial," and dogmatized on the subject. The creed was imposed by authority. "Many others," says Neander, "adopted the Nicene Creed in the same sense with Eusebius, interpreting it in accordance with their own doctrinal system. . . . . But as the creed was to be made known under the imperial authority, and threatened all who would not adopt it with the loss of their places, and condemnation as refractory subjects, the greater part of them yielded through fear." There was only a "forced and artificial union." ‡ We shall say more of this creed in a subsequent chapter.

It has been pretended by the enemies of Arius, that, when he found himself anathematized, his courage forsook him, and he made his peace with the council by a sacrifice of principle. Such, however, is not the fact. The historians, Socrates and Sozomen, both say that he was excommunicated, and that he was prohibited from entering Alexandria. That he went into exile is certain; for Eusebius and Theognis, in a petition for liberty to return, urge the fact that Arius had been already recalled.§ The time of his recall is uncertain. It has been said that he remained in exile ten years: but this must be a mistake; for Eusebius and Theognis were permitted to return

* Emperor's *Letter to the Bishops and People*, Soc., lib. i. c. 9.

† Eusebius (*Vita Const.*) describes with an amusing *naïveté* the magnificent feast prepared for the Fathers of the council, on their departure, by Constantine, that "miracle of an emperor." The avenue to the palace, he tells us, was guarded with long files of soldiers, "with the naked points of their swords; through the midst of whom the men of God, without fear, passed into the inmost rooms of the palace." There some of them were permitted to recline with the emperor, and others were placed on side-couches. "One would have thought," says Eusebius, "that Christ's kingdom was adumbrated, and that the thing itself was a dream, and nothing more."

‡ *Hist. Christ. Relig. and Church*, vol. ii. pp. 377, 378.

§ Soc., lib. i. c. 14. Illyricum is mentioned as the place of Arius's exile.

within three years after their banishment;* and Arius, as we have just said, had been previously recalled.

Meantime, Alexander had died, having survived the dissolution of the council only about five months; and the youthful Athanasius, as the reward of his zeal, was elevated to the primacy. So the Orthodox tell us. The enemies of Athanasius, however, say that he obtained the see by deception and trick; having in the last resort, the votes of the bishops being divided, shut himself up in a church in the evening with several of his adherents, and two bishops whom he forced by threats to perform the ceremony of consecration; they, the whole time, remonstrating against the violence. The story, which is told at large by Philostorgius,† may be false or exaggerated; though it will not do, in reading the history of those times, to believe the Orthodox in everything, and the heretics in nothing. The latter, it is to be presumed, had sometimes truth on their side. However it might have been in the present case, Athanasius was soon, to appearance, securely seated on the episcopal throne of Alexandria. But he was not suffered long to remain unmolested. The Eusebians had assembled a council, and deposed Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, who had charged Eusebius of Cæsarea with Arianism, and had been himself, in turn, accused of Sabellianism and immorality. Their attention was now turned to Arius. They were determined that Athanasius should readmit him into Alexandria, and restore him to the communion of the church. Eusebius was resolute and persevering. He wrote to Athanasius; and, as Socrates says, he employed entreaties and threats, but to no purpose. He then turned to the emperor, and endeavored to prevail on him to interest himself in the cause of the unfortunate presbyter. In this he was successful. Arius was admitted to the presence of Constantine, and found means of satisfying him that he was sound in the faith.

This was brought about in the following manner. Constantia, the emperor's sister, had in her train an Arian presbyter, whom she treated as a friend and confidant. The presbyter, in some familiar conversations he held with her, took occasion to speak of Arius, and told her that he was an injured

* Philostorg., lib. ii. c. 7. † Lib. ii. c. 11.

man, and that his sentiments had been misrepresented. Constantia gave credit to his assertions, but had not the courage to mention the subject to her brother. Falling sick, however, she, on her death-bed (A. D. 327), recommended the priest to him as a man of piety and diligence, and well affected towards his government. The emperor admitted him to his confidence; and after some time, when the priest had become emboldened by familiarity, received of him accounts similar to those which had been given to his sister. The priest assured him, that, if he would admit Arius to his presence, the latter would convince him that he was Orthodox according to the sense of the synod of Nice. The emperor heard this with surprise; but said, that, if Arius really held the Nicene faith, he would not only admit him to his presence, but would send him back with honor to Alexandria.

Arius was immediately summoned to court, but at first declined going. The emperor then writes, telling him to take a public vehicle, and hasten to him with all speed. He comes, accompanied with Euzoius, a fellow-sufferer on account of his opinions. At the command of the emperor, they present a summary of their faith. This is expressed in very general terms. They profess their belief in "one God, the Father Almighty; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, who was begotten before all worlds"; and, after enumerating some other articles, they add that they hold "the faith of the Church and the Scriptures" concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We discover in the confession no evidence that Arius's sentiments had undergone any change, or that he was guilty of any disingenuous concealment. The creed was sufficiently Arian; though it does not contain the obnoxious expressions, "made out of nothing," and "there was a time when he did not exist." These, as not being scriptural expressions, the Arians seemed now willing, for the sake of peace, to avoid. They consented, besides, to call Christ the Logos, Wisdom, Power, of God; maintaining, however, that the terms were applied to him only in a figurative sense. So, no doubt, they were intended to be used in their "confession"; and, "if Constantine was satisfied with it," we may say with Le Clerc, "either he must have changed his views, or he gave little

attention to it, or he but imperfectly comprehended the sense of the Nicene Council." He appeared, certainly, from this time, very much softened towards the Arians; and may be said, in fact, to have become their patron.

Under sanction of the emperor, Arius now returns to Alexandria, seeks admission into the church, and is refused; Eusebius writes to Athanasius on the subject; the emperor, too, writes; but the primate is still refractory, and replies, that to reinstate one who had been anathematized as a heretic was impossible. The emperor, in a rage, writes back, telling him, that, if he did not do as he was desired, he should be instantly deposed and banished. The haughty Alexandrian now saw the storm fast gathering over his head. The Eusebians had the ear of the emperor, and various charges were brought against him. He was accused of several violent and oppressive acts, — of sedition, sacrilege, and atrocious murder.

Of some of these charges the emperor acquitted him, and ordered that a council, to be assembled at Tyre, should take cognizance of the rest, that previously held at Cæsarea having proved unavailing. The council, consisting of sixty bishops from various parts, met A. D. 335. Athanasius refused to appear, until the emperor threatened, that, if he did not come voluntarily, he should be brought by force.* He then makes his appearance with a train of Egyptian bishops, forty-seven in number, who had not been called, but who might be capable in various ways of rendering him service. Before the council has come to a decision on the questions submitted to it, however, he secretly withdraws from Tyre; and his flight is construed into an acknowledgment of his guilt. He was condemned and deposed upon several charges, among which Philostorgius mentions illegitimate ordination, and a most foul slander which he was proved to have forged against Eusebius of Nicomedia.† What the truth really was, and how much falsehood was blended with it, it is difficult to ascertain from the obscure and confused account of the proceedings of the council given by the historians.

* Soc., i. 28.

† Philostorg., ii. 11; Soc., i. 32; Soz., ii. 25; and Euseb. *Vita Const.*, iv. 41, 42.

Athanasius very probably received hard measure from the hands of his judges, who were unfriendly to him: but Arius had received the same from the hands of the orthodox, who were his enemies; and they could not now in justice complain.

The council, having completed their business at Tyre, repaired to Jerusalem to consecrate the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for which they had been originally summoned. After the performance of this act, they proceed to readmit Arius and his friends to communion, the emperor testifying to their orthodoxy.* They write a letter still extant, addressed to the church of Alexandria and to "all throughout Egypt, Thebais, Libya, and Pentapolis, and to the bishops, priests, and deacons throughout the world," requiring them to receive Arius and his followers back into the bosom of the Church, and expressing the desire that this might be done with all readiness, and full peace and harmony be restored.†

Athanasius had suddenly disappeared from Tyre. We next hear of him at Constantinople. As the emperor was entering the city on horseback, Athanasius, accompanied by his band of ecclesiastics, suddenly threw himself in his way. The emperor, not recognizing him, felt a momentary alarm. On being told that it was Athanasius, he ordered him to be removed. But the bishop kept his ground, "nothing daunted," till he made himself heard. All he asked, he said, was that the council which had deposed him should be summoned to Constantinople, that, in the presence of the emperor, he might prefer his complaints, and have a fair hearing. The request was granted, and a letter despatched to Jerusalem requiring as many of the council, which was not yet dissolved, as had composed the Synod of Tyre, to appear at Constantinople.‡ The summons came like a thunderbolt, and the bishops were in no little perplexity. Most of them, so the orthodox historians tell us, concluded that it would be their safest course to get home as quick as possible, and immediately set off. But some — among whom were Eusebius, Theognis, and others — went and reported themselves at Constantinople. Another

* Soc., i. 33.

† See letter in Athanasius, *De Syn. Arim. et Sel.*, c. 21.

‡ Emperor's *Letter to the Synod*, Soc., i. 34.

charge was now brought against Athanasius. He had threatened, it was said, to stop the supply of corn which was annually sent from Egypt to the imperial city. Constantine was satisfied of his guilt, and the friends of Athanasius trembled for his life; but the emperor listened to the suggestions of mercy, and was content to banish him to Treves in Gaul. There was a tradition current in the time of Socrates the historian, that, in sending him into exile in a remote province, Constantine was influenced not merely by the crimes imputed to him, but by an earnest desire to restore peace to Christendom, which he despaired of doing while the proud and inflexible prelate was allowed to mingle in its councils.

The friends of Athanasius at Alexandria witnessed the return of Arius with grief, and many disorders followed. He soon after appeared at Constantinople; having either gone there voluntarily, or been summoned to answer for the disturbances in Egypt. We have now arrived at the closing scene of his life. Alexander, a strenuous advocate of the Nicene faith, was at this time Bishop of Constantinople; and Eusebius threatened, that, if he did not admit Arius to communion, he should be deposed. The bishop was not intimidated. He turned to God for refuge. Retiring into his church, he prostrated himself upon the ground beneath the table of the altar, and poured forth his prayers and tears. This he continued to do, it is asserted, for days and nights together.

Meanwhile Arius, we are told, had appeared before the emperor, and satisfied him of his orthodoxy. He is said to have subscribed to the Nicene symbol. The emperor, surprised at this, required him to confirm his signature by oath; which he did, using deception all the while: for he had a paper, containing his real sentiments, concealed under his arm, and declared, under oath, that he believed as he had written. This charge, however, is wholly destitute of proof. Neander gives no credit to it, and goes into an argument to show its improbability.* Socrates, from whom the story is taken,† does not vouch for its truth, but is careful to say, that he had so "heard"; and repeats, that it was matter of "hearsay

* *Hist. Christ. Relig. and Church*, vol. ii. p. 385, note.
† Lib. i. c. 38.

only." Another account — far more probable — is that Arius was required to give an account of his faith in writing, and that he took care to express himself, on the disputed points, in Scripture language, on which he could put his own construction. With this the emperor, who clearly was not a very profound critic in these matters, was satisfied, as he had been by a former confession of Arius. Constantine was now not difficult to please on this point. He "stood in the closest relations," as Neander observes, "with those bishops who were decidedly opposed to the Nicene Creed"; and had no great zeal for its articles, being content if it was not publicly attacked. We are not bound to believe every rumor to the disadvantage of Arius put in circulation by his enemies. If Athanasius was guilty of one half the crimes imputed to him, he deserved to be sent to end his days in solitude or among Barbarians; for he was fit only to live with savages. We do not believe that he was guilty of one fourth part of them; and yet the charges against him are, with few exceptions, as well or better supported than most of those against the Arians. We only claim for Arius the benefit of that common justice and charity to which all are entitled. We ask only that some little allowance be made for the exaggerations of party feeling and the virulence of theological prejudice.

The emperor, convinced of his good faith, directed Alexander to admit him to communion. A council was also talked of. Alexander was agitated and in great distress. Entering the church, and prostrating himself at the foot of the altar, he prayed to God, that, if the opinion of Arius were true, he might not live to see the day "appointed for its discussion"; but, if not, that Arius himself might be cut off. The next day was the time fixed for bringing Arius to communion. But as he was proceeding from the palace through the city, accompanied by his friends, in a sort of triumph, he was attacked with sudden illness; and, retiring to the nearest office, miserably perished, A. D. 336, as his friends say, by magical arts or by poison, but, according to the representations of his enemies, by a judgment of Heaven, in answer to the very charitable prayer of Alexander, who would rather die than be convinced that he was in error. Such are the principal circumstances of the

case, as given by the historians and Athanasius, though their narratives vary in some minute particulars.*

The Eusebians, as the Orthodox tell us, were filled with consternation, and went and buried the companion of their heresy in silence. The spot where he died was pronounced execrable; and those who passed by long continued to point the finger at it in pious horror, till a rich Arian, to wipe off the stigma, purchased the ground, and erected upon it a beautiful dwelling. That the friends of the unfortunate Arius were sensibly affected by his sudden and tragical death, there can be no doubt. His enemies indecently exulted, and publicly returned thanks to God, who, as they thought, had graciously interposed to rid the world of a monster of impiety, and, by a visible token, confirm the consubstantial faith.†

Of the intellectual and moral character of Arius, we are compelled to think favorably. That he possessed a vigorous understanding, acute discernment, and great clearness of comprehension, admits not of doubt. He wrote, if we may judge from his letters, with precision and accuracy; and, by the confession of his enemies, united consummate skill in the dialectic art with an easy address and popular and insinuating eloquence. From the little which is known of his life, it may be inferred that he was tolerant and charitable, the friend of inquiry and rational freedom. He had the independence to think for himself, and the courage to express his opinions; but it does not appear that he had any disposition to restrain others in the exercise of their liberty. There seems to have been no bitterness in his nature. We do not hear that he ever indulged in reproaches against his oppressors. He attempted, in some respects, to reform and simplify the theology of the age; and was, in consequence, denounced as a blasphemer, a heretic, a

* Soc., lib. i. cc. 37, 38; Sozomen, lib. ii. cc. 29, 30; Theodoret, lib. i. c. 14. Valesius contends that the Arius who died at Constantinople, A. D. 336, was not the arch-heretic, but one of his followers of the same name. This it is impossible to believe. All the historians and Athanasius speak of the Arius who thus died, without giving any intimation that it was another Arius. It is impossible to read their accounts, as it seems to us, without a conviction that the writers all along have in view the author of the heresy. No historical fact appears more certain.

† Soc., lib. i. c. 38; Athan. *Epist. ad Serap. de Morte Arii*, et *ad Episc. Æg. et Lib.*, c. 19.

Porphyrian, — a name which stood for all that was vile and hateful. He was anathematized and cut off from the communion of the Christian world, and it was made felony to possess any of his books; but we are not informed that he was provoked to reply with acrimony, or gave evidence of being deficient in the meek and patient virtues of the Christian. It is certain that his life was unspotted; for calumny never uttered a whisper against its purity.

Of his writings, with the exception of two letters and the Confession already mentioned, we have little positive information. Philostorgius, as represented by his Orthodox epitomizer, tells us that he wrote songs for mariners and those who were engaged at the mill and in travelling, that, by calling to his aid the charms of melody, he might the better disseminate his opinions among the illiterate portion of the community. If such were his motive, there was nothing culpable in it. But he might have had other objects in view. Persons employed in grinding at the mill, in ancient times, it is well known, were accustomed to cheer their labors with song; and those devoted to other occupations, no doubt, did the same. The motion of the oar, we know, in modern times, is often accompanied by chanting or music. If Arius could furnish popular songs preferable to those in general use in his time; if he could substitute those which had a meaning, and were unexceptionable in point of expression and thought, for such as were loose, profane, or contained erroneous sentiments, — he had a right to do it. More than this, it was an act of great benevolence to do it.

There is another work of Arius, which is often mentioned by Athanasius,* the "Thalia," which he calls a poem, — a light and effeminate poem, "after the manner of the Egyptian Sotades." He seems to speak of it as a sort of pleasant, jesting performance, — a piece of profane buffoonery. It is difficult to say what Athanasius means by all this. He gives several extracts from the work, in which there is certainly nothing comic or humorous, or soft and effeminate. The introduction, if Athanasius has quoted it correctly, exhibits a

* See particularly his *Orat.* i. *cont. Arianos*, cc. 4, 5; and *De Syn. Arim et Sel.*, c. 15; also *De Syn. Nic. Decret.*, c. 16.

kind of sonorousness and jingle, a pomp and affectation; and some expressions which occur in it savor of a childish vanity. But, with this exception, the performance appears, for aught we can discover, to have been plain and sober enough. The quotations given by Athanasius, which are very short fragments, contain some statements of Arius's views and arguments in their favor, but perfectly grave and decorous.

If Athanasius means only that Arius in his songs, — which, however, he plainly distinguishes from his "Thalia," — made use of the Sotadean measure, which was peculiar, there was nothing criminal in that. A similar charge was brought against the early Protestant reformers, who were accused of taking their "airs" from the "best *songs* of the times."

But then the songs of Arius, it is objected, were doctrinal; and so are those of Dr. Watts, and fifty others we could name. And, if we mistake not, the Athanasian Creed (which will be admitted, we suppose, to be somewhat doctrinal) is to this day somewhere appointed to be "said or *sung*" in the churches.*

* The author of one of the Oxford "Tracts for the Times" (No. 75), says: "It is a far truer view of this venerable composition to consider it a Psalm or Hymn of praise, or of concurrence in God's appointments, as Psalm 118 or 189, or the Te Deum, than as a formal Creed"; and he recommends the use of it, at the "dawn of the first day of the week," for so "its living character and spirit are incorporated into the Christian's devotions, and its influence on the heart, as far as may be, secured." — Vol. iii. p. 190, New York edit.

As to the songs or ballads of Arius, and his "Thalia," modern writers have felt some perplexity. Some speak of them as one work, though, as we said, clearly distinguished by Athanasius. Their grossness is no doubt exaggerated. J. H. Newman, the translator of Athanasius's "Treatises against Arianism," in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, finds fault with the Saint for speaking of the *Egyptian* Sotades. He says that the Sotades referred to was a Cretan by birth, and that the characteristic of his metre was the "recurrence of the same cadence, which virtually destroyed the division into verses, and thus gave the composition that lax and slovenly air to which Athanasius alludes." The Church, he says, "adopted the Doric music, and forbade the Ionic and Lydian. The name 'Thalia' commonly belonged to convivial songs." Newman thinks that the offence of Arius consisted in the use of the music and light metres referred to. This, no doubt, was what was meant when his songs and his "Thalia" were called "dissolute." He fell into the error, as Newman explains it, "of those modern religionists, who, with a better creed, sing spiritual songs at table, and use in their chapels glees and opera airs."

Athanasius says that Arius wrote the "Thalia" after his expulsion from

the Church and while he was with Eusebius. We subjoin four lines, in Newman's translation, as a specimen. According to Athanasius, they formed part of the introduction to the "Thalia."

> "According to faith of God's elect, God's prudent ones,
> Holy children, rightly dividing, God's Holy Spirit receiving,
> Have I learned this from the partakers of wisdom,
> Accomplished, divinely taught, and wise in all things."
>
> *Lib. of the Fathers*, viii. 185.

Milman (*Hist. of Christianity*, p. 314, ed. N. Y.) softens the charges brought against Arius on account of the character of his "Thalia" and his songs. He refers to the example of a "celebrated modern humorist and preacher, who adapted hymns to some of the most popular airs, and declared that the Devil ought not to have all the best tunes."

CHAPTER III.

SUCCESS AND DECLINE OF ARIANISM. — LONG SURVIVED IN THE WEST. — THE GOTHS RECEIVE IT. — INFLUENCE OF THE LADIES. — THE FRIENDS AND COADJUTORS OF ARIUS. — EUSEBIUS OF NICOMEDIA, THEOGNIS OF NICE, AND EUSEBIUS THE HISTORIAN. — FORTUNES OF ATHANASIUS: HIS WANDERINGS AND DEATH, WRITINGS AND CHARACTER.

IF the sudden removal of Arius had the effect of damping for a moment the ardor of the Eusebians, their courage soon revived. The cause of Arianism acquired new vigor after the death of Constantine, A. D. 337; and continued to be prosperous during the whole reign of his son Constantius, who was himself an Arian. In this reign, several Arian councils were assembled; Arianism was everywhere predominant; and the consubstantial or Homoousian faith seemed to be threatened with destruction. The great Hosius, as he is called, now a hundred years old, subscribes to the Arian faith; Liberius, Bishop of Rome, follows his example; and, not to mention Felix, called by the Orthodox the intruder, the world, for once at least, beheld an Arian pope.* The Arians had possession of all the great sees of the Church. "The whole world," says Jerome, "groaned and was surprised to find itself Arian." †

A schism took place among the Arians: one party, called Semi-Arians, or Homoiousians, maintaining that the Son was, in all respects, of *like* substance with the Father; and the other, denominated Aëtians, Eunomians, and Anomœans, who were the strict Arians, asserting that he was of a different substance, and wholly unlike the Father.‡

At their councils, the Arians adopted various confessions of faith. Socrates enumerates nine,§ and speaks of them as a labyrinth; and Athanasius mentions their "ten synods or

* Athan., *Ad Mon.*, c. 45; Soc., ii. 31; Du Pin, *Hist. of Eccles. Writers*, ii. 50, 62; Neander, *Hist. Christ. Relig. and Church*, ii. 404, 405.

† *Dial. adv. Lucif.*

‡ Epiphan., *Hær.* lxxiii.–lxxvi.

§ Lib. ii. c. 41.

more," and gives several of their creeds. Tillemont makes the latter amount to eighteen during the reign of Constantius. Their enemies reproached them for their frequent changes, which were attributed to their fickleness;* but their friends, perhaps, might adduce the circumstance as evidence only that they exercised the right of inquiry and the free expression of sentiment. We could wish, however, that the Arians at this period had not disgraced their cause by persecutions.

Constantius died A. D. 361. The infidel Julian succeeded, and neither party was fostered or oppressed. Jovian favored the consubstantialists. Under Valens, Arianism again recovered strength, but sunk beneath the severe edicts of Theodosius, and was afterwards little more heard of in the Eastern Empire.

It long survived, however, in the West. The Goths received the Arian faith from the celebrated Ulfila, or Ulphilas, their first bishop, and the inventor of their alphabet.† It was embraced by the Ostrogoths, the Suevi, the Burgundians, the Vandals, and generally by the Barbaric nations which overwhelmed the Western Empire. Orthodox writers assign the year 660 as the date of its extinction. That it continued to subsist as the belief of many private Christians, there can be no doubt; but its energies were crushed by the hard pressure of power, and it rose again into notice only after the slumber of centuries. With its revival in modern times we have nothing to do.‡

* Athan., *De Syn. Arim. et Sel.*; also *Epist. ad Episc. in Afr.*

† Soc., lib. iv. c. 33; Philostorg., lib. ii. c. 5.

‡ Historians have noticed the influence of *the ladies* on the fortunes of Arianism. "The Devil," says Maimbourg, "made use of three women to introduce the Arian heresy in the East," referring to the Empresses Constantia, Eusebia, and Dominica; "but God, to combat him with his own weapons, employed three illustrious queens, Clotilda, Ingonda, and Theodelinda, to purify the West" by its extermination! (*Histoire de l'Arianisme*, lib. xii.) Maimbourg is an eloquent and agreeable writer, but exceedingly deficient in candor, and occasionally draws pretty freely upon imagination. Dr. Jortin classes him with those who "*make* history." Tillemont has also written a history of the Arians; and no two works could present a more striking contrast, in point of manner and style, than Maimbourg's and his. Tillemont's consists of a dry collection of quotations, interspersed now and then with an original remark. But Tillemont's work, too, takes a strong coloring from his prejudices, the exhibition of which is often not a little amusing. He is at no loss to ac-

The friends and associates of Arius now claim a parting notice. Of these, Eusebius of Nicomedia, called by some the great Eusebius, was the most prominent. From the time he embarked in the controversy till his death, the party continued to be animated by his counsels. His influence may be attributed in part, no doubt, to his facility of access to the emperor, but much more to his distinguished ability, his shrewdness and activity. He always acted with vigor. His enemies accused him of faction and intrigue; but we must not form our judgment upon party statements. He had been banished for his resistance to the imposition of an unscriptural creed. His friends had been oppressed, calumniated, and some of them driven into exile, for presuming to exercise freedom of thought, — the common birthright of man. If the warmth of his feelings and his keen sense of injustice sometimes betrayed him into imprudence and excesses (which we neither deny nor assert), he may be entitled to some indulgence on the score

count for the rise of Arianism just at the moment it appeared; for the Devil, despairing of propping up the sinking cause of Paganism after the conversion of Constantine, and having, therefore, nothing to do *out* of the Church, went to work to see what he could effect *in* it. "For this purpose, he made use of the very name of Jesus Christ"; and Arius was the unhappy being he employed to maintain the "impious tenet," that "he was either a different God from his Father, or, which is much the same blasphemy, that he was not truly God at all." All "which is horrid to think on!"

The Arians, if we credit several of the old ecclesiastical writers, and Maimbourg, Tillemont, and others, among the moderns, were only instruments in the hands of the great adversary of God and man. Yet they will not suffer, as regards character, genius, or attainments, by comparison with the consubstantialists. True, they are represented as monsters; but then we must recollect that their enemies are their painters. We have feeling complaints of the persecutions kindled by the Arians; but had the Arians no tale of cruelties to tell? We know that their sufferings were great, and would, no doubt, have appeared much greater, had their own accounts been spared us. But the injuries of time, and zeal of the Orthodox, have suffered few of their writings to survive; and their history is, therefore, to be derived chiefly from the suspicious testimony of their foes. Severe edicts, it is certain, were issued for the destruction of their books; and the story of their sorrows, as related by themselves, has perished. That in their prosperity they retorted upon the consubstantialists the wrongs they had received, only proves that they were not superior to the frailties of our nature. We are pointed to the wanderings of Athanasius as proof of their malice, and his history has been often and pathetically enough told; but a tear for the unfortunate Arius has been more than the world could give.

of human infirmity. He was originally Bishop of Berytus, afterwards of Nicomedia, the chief city of Bithynia; whence he was transferred, about the year 338, to the see of Constantinople. He died soon after the council of Antioch, — probably before the end of the year 341. He was reputed to be a learned man; yet we are not informed that he left any writings except letters, of which one only is preserved.

Theognis of Nice, as we have said, recovered his see after his exile; but of his subsequent history little is known, except that he persevered with Eusebius in opposition to the consubstantial faith. Of Theonas and Secundus we find nothing worth adding. Maris of Chalcedon survived to the time of the Emperor Julian; whom he had the courage publicly to reproach for his idolatry, as he was sacrificing on the altar of Fortune. He was then old and blind. He had formerly seen the philosophic emperor practise the exercises of the Christian religion, and now thanked God, he said, in reply to a sarcasm of Julian, that he could not behold his impieties. The anecdote, if true, shows at least his honesty and zeal.

Of Eusebius the historian, another of the friends of Arius, as he will form the subject of a separate notice, we shall here add nothing to what has been already said.

We have now done with Arius and his friends, and hasten to offer a brief tribute to the great champion of Orthodoxy. We left Athanasius at Treves, where he had been banished for a real or supposed crime of state, A. D. 336. The emperor was importuned by his friends to restore him: but he was inflexible, and replied, that he was "seditious, and had been condemned by a council." He was compelled, he said, to respect the decision of the bishops assembled at Tyre, who could not be supposed to have been under the influence of passion. Athanasius, he added, was "insolent, proud, and kept everything in a constant broil." Constantine died soon after (A. D. 337), having in his last illness received Arian baptism from the hand of Eusebius of Nicomedia.*

* Constantine's orthodoxy, in his best days, sat rather loosely upon him, and varied with time. If the oration to the "Saints," that is, to the Fathers of the council, ascribed to him by Eusebius and appended by him to his Life of the emperor, be really his, he certainly was no Athanasian in the later

Athanasius, fortified with a letter from the young Constantine, now returned to Egypt, after an absence of nearly two years. His entrance into Alexandria was marked with blood and slaughter. His attempt to reascend the episcopal throne, from which he had been regularly deposed by the sentence of a synod, was vigorously resisted by the Arians; but the party of Athanasius prevailed. Complaints were made against him to the Emperor Constantius; and a council, at which the emperor was present, having been assembled at Antioch, Athanasius was declared to have been guilty of an irregularity in resuming his episcopal functions without the intervention of a synod; and Gregory of Cappadocia was appointed to fill the see of Alexandria. On his arrival, accompanied with a band of soldiers to enforce the decree of the synod, Athanasius effected his escape, and took refuge in Italy. According to some authorities, he soon returned to Alexandria with letters from Julius, Bishop of Rome, in which the latter severely censures the bishops who had deposed him; and, in consequence, receives from them a sharp reply, rebuking him for his impertinent interference. The usual disturbances followed on his arrival at Alexandria; and he was charged, besides, with selling the corn which the late emperor had provided for the relief of the poor widows of the city, and with appropriating the proceeds to his own selfish purposes. The emperor now threatens him with death, and he thinks it prudent again to flee. He passes some time in concealment; but the Bishop of Rome, discovering the place of his retirement, interests himself in his favor, and writes, inviting him to repair to his presence; and Athanasius finds his way a second time to Rome.

Other authorities, with more probability perhaps, assign to him only one journey to Rome; where he remained some years, during which a synod was holden at Rome in his favor. The council of Sardica, A. D. 347, after the secession of the

sense of the term. Thus he pronounces Plato right when he speaks of a "first God, above every substance," to which first God he adds a "second, distinguishing them as in number two substances," or two essences, the second "proceeding from the first," and "ministering to his commands," referring the constitution of all things to him. So far, he says, Plato taught wisely and well. — *Orat. ad Sanct. Cat.*, c. 9.

Eastern bishops, too proves friendly to him, absolves him from the sentence of the synod of Antioch, and decrees his restoration and that of some other bishops to their sees. The Emperor of the West writes to his brother of the East, acquainting him with the fact, and entreats him to replace them. Constantius demurs; upon which the Western emperor writes a very laconic and menacing epistle, telling him, that, if he refused, he would himself come, and restore them by force. The threat is effectual, and the Eastern emperor consents to their restoration.

On his way to Egypt, Athanasius passes through Jerusalem, and is received to communion by a synod of his friends hastily assembled on the occasion; and was reëstablished in his see, A. D. 349. He had scarcely taken possession, when the Emperor Constans, his protector, meets a violent death; and he is doomed to experience afresh the effects of Constantius's anger. New charges are brought against him. The Western bishops, after a long delay, are induced to pronounce sentence of condemnation against him; and the emperor determines on accomplishing his ruin. He escapes, and conceals himself in the desert. He wrote an apology for his flight, which is still extant. He remained in seclusion several years; but after the death of George, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, who fell by the hands of an infuriated mob,* he emerged from his solitude, and resumed his office, A. D. 362. His stay was short; for Julian, who was then emperor, hearing of his return, and fearing another commotion, sent orders to his prefect to apprehend him.

The saint again fled, saying to his friends, "Let us retire a little while: it is a small cloud, and will soon pass." His pursuers pressed hard upon him; but, eluding them by artifice, he returned privately to the city, and remained concealed till the storm was over. Upon the accession of Jovian, A. D. 363, he reappeared, and, during his reign, retained possession of his

* Philostorgius (lib. vii. c. 2) says that the violence was committed at the instigation of Athanasius. The character of the Arian bishop is said to have been stained with many vices. It is a curious circumstance that he should have been afterwards transformed into the "renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter." The transformation, says Gibbon, though "not absolutely certain," is "*extremely* probable."

seat. Under Valens, the Arian emperor, he was again compelled to leave Alexandria. He retired, and concealed himself four months in the tomb of his father. His friends at Alexandria were overwhelmed with sadness, and the emperor was induced to recall him. He became afterwards embroiled with the Governor of Libya, whom he had excommunicated; but kept possession of his see till his death. He ended a life of toil and wanderings, A. D. 373; having been bishop forty-six years, of which twenty were passed in exile or concealment.*

His writings, which are numerous, relate mostly to the controversies of the times, and contain several elaborate vindications of his character.† He treats the charges of his enemies against him as calumnies, and strongly asserts, and sometimes at least, proves, his innocence. But he was forced to contend, not only against their calumnies, as he pronounces them, but their arguments in defence of their theological opinions; and these he seems to have sometimes found it difficult to refute. He says they were continually asking captious, absurd, and impious questions; to which, it appears, he could sometimes reply only by raising the cry of "blasphemy." He compares the Arians to madmen, dogs, and swine.‡ They contended that the expression, "I and my Father are one," could not prove the Son to be of the substance of the Father; for Jesus prays that his disciples "may be one, even as he and the Father were one." But, in this reasoning, Athanasius could see only "indescribable temerity" and "diabolical madness." They urged the texts, "All power is *given* unto me"; "The Father hath *committed* all judgment to the Son"; and from his agony and prayer, he says, they concluded that he could not be God by nature. Again: had he been the proper wisdom of the Father, "How could it be said that he grew in wisdom?" and

* Socrates devotes several chapters, or parts of chapters, in the first four books of his history to Athanasius; Sozomen, in his first six books; and Theodoret, in his first four.

† See particularly his *Apol. cont. Arianos.*

‡ Dr. Stanley, in his "History of the Eastern Church," gives an amusing list of his favorite epithets for the Arians. They are "devils, Antichrists, maniacs, dogs, wolves, lions, hares, chameleons, hydras, eels, cuttle-fish, gnats, beetles, leeches." Such names passed with Athanasius for arguments.

"how could he be ignorant of the day of judgment?" In reply to these and similar arguments, they get a great deal of abuse: they are denounced as impious; and their audacity is compared to that of the Jews, who stoned Jesus for speaking of his divinity. They were perfect hydras. They were always ready with some new turn or new argument. Though refuted by him, they were not silenced; and, though he had shown them "destitute of all sense," they did not "blush." He quotes from the "Thalia" of Arius, and exclaims, at such "impious words, how shall not universal nature stand aghast, and all men stop their ears and shut their eyes, that they may not hear those things, nor see him who has written them!"

Athanasius, however, possessed several of the requisites of a skilful champion. He was bold, resolute, and subtle, and wrote in a style of strong, though sometimes rude, eloquence. His spirit was indomitable. He was persevering and inflexible; but his temper was arbitrary and domineering, and his constancy was not without a tincture of obstinacy. He was excelled in learning by several of his contemporaries, particularly by Eusebius of Cæsarea; and by many, we trust, in the meek and gentle graces of the Christian. His piety, and love of truth, we have no disposition to call in question; yet the history of his life would seem to authorize the suspicion, that he was influenced rather by motives of pride and ambition than by a desire to promote the peace of the Church. He would set all Christendom in a flame sooner than relinquish the patriarchal throne of Alexandria.

He was capable of inspiring warm friendships. He was a strong advocate for monkery. He wrote the life of a certain hermit, whose name was Antony; and was amply repaid by the affection and gratitude of the order. In the season of his deepest adversity, the monks remained faithful. They opened the doors of their monasteries to him; concealed him in the desert, where they visited him; ministered to his wants; gave him intelligence of the approach of danger; and, in various ways, evinced their attachment to his person.

His orthodoxy, particularly in the earlier part of his life, will not stand the test of subsequent times, as he did not admit the Son to be of one individual essence with the Father,

though he believed him to possess the same specific nature.* It is hardly necessary to add, that the Creed which bears his name is the production of a later age.†

* Not *μονοούσιος*, or *ταυτοούσιος*, but *ὁμοούσιος*. The former terms, expressive of individual or numerical identity of substance, were then rejected.

† Gibbon's account of Athanasius forms one of the most splendid chapters in his History. His portrait of the saint, however, is an exceedingly flattering one. The temptation was great, to be sure. Athanasius had several heroic qualities; he led a life of adventure; and a writer possessing Gibbon's powers of description could not wish for a finer subject. He could be just to Athanasius, as one has said, "even when Julian was his persecutor." Gibbon had the art, if we may so express it, of falsifying history, without absolutely misstating facts. Athanasius and Julian were very different characters. But a person will get just about as correct an idea of the one as of the other from the "luminous pages" of Gibbon.

The very slight sketch we have given of the character of Athanasius we believe to be sufficiently favorable. Others have spoken of his infirmities of temper in terms much stronger than any we have employed. "Athanasius's Epistle to the Monks," says the learned Limborch, "is proof enough of his ungovernable and angry temper, in which we find nothing but foul and reproachful language against the Arians; a plain proof of a violently disordered mind." — *History of the Inquisition*, ch. 4.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NICENE FAITH. — MEANING OF "CONSUBSTANTIAL." — ATHANASIUS'S EXPLANATION OF IT. — FATHER AND SON RELATIVELY UNEQUAL: SO THE COUNCIL OF NICE TAUGHT. — SENTIMENTS OF THE ORTHODOX AFTERWARDS UNDERGO A CHANGE. — THE HOLY SPIRIT NOT DEFINED BY THE COUNCIL. — NOT AS YET SAFE TO SPEAK OF ITS DIVINITY. — VARIATIONS. — DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY STILL UNSETTLED.

IT may be asked, in conclusion, What did the council of Nice accomplish? What, in reality, was the Nicene faith? How far did it differ from that of the learned Christians of preceding centuries? how far from that of subsequent times, after the doctrine of the Trinity was in a manner defined and settled?

First, what did the Fathers of the council mean when they said that the Son was *consubstantial* with the Father? We have seen the construction which Eusebius puts on the term, and which he says received the sanction of the council. They intended to assert that the Son was "in all respects *like* the Father," and "unlike all creatures made by him," in opposition to Arius, who maintained that he was a creature, and therefore not strictly divine. This was the meaning which the term then bore, as learned Trinitarian critics (Petavius, Cudworth, Le Clerc, and others) admit and prove. It expressed, not *numerical identity of substance*, but *sameness of kind*. One man is of the same substance or nature with another, as they belong to the same order of beings. So the Son of God is of the same substance with the Father: he partakes, in common with him, of a divine, though not of the same individual nature. Divine begets divine, as human begets human. The distinction between *person* and *being* was unknown to the Fathers: it is a refinement of latter times. The Father and Son had the same specific nature, yet constituted distinct subsistences, persons, beings.* Such was the

* The very term "consubstantial" implies two. We never say that a thing is consubstantial with itself.

doctrine of all the ante-Nicene Fathers, unless by the expression, "of a different substance," which some of them applied to the Son, they mean to teach something more than that he had an individual existence distinct from the Father.

The Fathers of Nice taught no other doctrine. The term "consubstantial" was not first introduced by them. Athanasius tells us that it had been used before. The seventy Fathers of the second council of Antioch, which condemned the errors of Paul of Samosata, he admits, rejected it, and decreed that the Son was not consubstantial with the Father; and he attempts to apologize for them by referring to the nature of the controversy in which they were engaged.* But some Fathers, he says, had used it. In what sense Dionysius of Alexandria understood it, we have already seen. His explanation of it does not differ materially from that of Eusebius. Athanasius's explanation of the sense in which it was used by the council of Nice is similar. The Son has "no similitude to creatures, nor is cognate with them"; he is the "true offspring of the substance of the Father." "The substance of the Father was the beginning, the root, and fountain of the Son, who has a true likeness to Him that begat him; and is not separated from the Father, as we are, by being of a substance foreign to his." Again: he has the same relation to the Father as a ray to the sun, or a branch to the vine; for the "branches are *consubstantial with the vine*, of the same sort, and inseparable." Again: when we speak of identity or sameness, he says, we refer, not to any accidental distinction, but to substances or essences. One man "is of the same nature with another as regards substance." But "a man and a dog are of different natures: therefore *what is of the same nature is consubstantial;* what is of a different nature is of another substance," or not consubstantial.†

* *De Syn. Arim. et Seleuc.*

† *De Syn. Arim. et Seleuc.*, cc. 38–45, and 52–54; *De Syn. Nic. Decret.*, cc. 19, 20–25, 27; *De Sent. Dionysii; Epist.* ii. *et* iii. *ad Serap.* Dionysius is one of Athanasius's principal authorities to show that the Fathers of Nice did not "invent for themselves" the term consubstantial. He gives the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to him of Rome twice. (*De Syn. Nic. Decret.*, and *De Syn. Arim. et Seleuc.*) In this letter Dionysius says: "I instanced a human production which is clearly congeneric, and I observed that undeniably

Such is the explanation which this celebrated champion of the Trinity gives of the meaning of the term, as used by the Fathers of the synod of Nice and by himself. Christ was by birth God, as man is by birth man. There is one species of divinity, as one species of humanity; and, as all men are of the same substance (that is, all human), so the Father and Son are of the same substance (that is, both divine). This, if we may truly believe Eusebius and Athanasius, is all which they meant by the term. We know that it originally bore this sense, and these two witnesses — one of whom was partial to its use, and the other opposed to it — tell us that it was used by the Fathers of the council in no other. It is needless to introduce further evidence.*

Specific sameness implies a sort of natural equality; yet the Father and Son might be relatively unequal, and were so considered. The one *gave*, and the other *received*. The one was without cause, unbegotten, God originally and of himself: the other was a God by derivation or birth, and not originally in and of himself. They were united, however, in will, purpose, and affection. There was but one original Fountain of divinity, one supreme first Cause; and therefore the unity of God, in a certain loose sense, was, as it was thought, preserved. So the preceding Fathers believed; and we have no proof that the Fathers of Nice entertained any other views. Their creed certainly teaches no other. It recognizes one unbegotten, uncaused Being; and one begotten, dependent, and derived. Read the Nicene Creed, and for the term "consubstantial" substitute the phrase, "having, as the Son of God, a divine nature," which is equivalent to it as used by the Fathers of the council, and you have two beings such as we have de-

fathers differed from their children only in not being the same individuals." That is, there is a generic, not an individual identity. This is what was meant by consubstantial.

* We mean not to affirm that there was entire unanimity of opinion among the Fathers of the council on this subject. This, we know, was not the case. The term in question was obscure, and, in some sort, ambiguous; but it was all the better for that, provided it had the effect of stigmatizing the Arians, since it allowed a certain latitude of opinion among the orthodox Fathers. That the prominent idea conveyed by it, however, was such as we have stated, admits of no reasonable doubt.

scribed. We do not perceive that in *sentiment* they differed in any essential particular from the Fathers who went before them. If they used the term "consubstantial" in the sense which afterwards obtained, however, they certainly did differ from them, and were innovators. But we are convinced, as we have said, that they did not so use it. If we may believe their own statements, they certainly did not.

Some time after the council, however, and even during the lifetime of Athanasius, the opinions of the orthodox began to undergo a real and important change; and the council undoubtedly contributed to this change, inadvertently, by the introduction of a term capable of a sense very different from that originally attributed to it by the Platonists and Platonizing Fathers. Thus the term, which, at the time it was adopted, was understood to express only specific sameness of nature, was afterwards employed to signify individual identity; and subsequent times, while they have retained the language, have departed widely from the sentiments, of the Nicene Fathers.

The principal points of difference between the views of the Fathers who lived before the synod, and the asserters of the genuine Trinity afterwards, may be stated in few words. The former taught the supremacy of the Father, and the real and proper inferiority of the Son, without qualification; making them, in fact, two beings. The latter asserted, not simply an equality of nature between the Father and Son, but their individual and numerical identity; though this was not originally the doctrine of Athanasius, nor of the Church till some time after the middle of the fourth century. The former maintained, generally, that the Son was voluntarily begotten of the Father before the creation of the world, but not from eternity; the latter, that he was necessarily begotten, from eternity. Whether they attached any ideas to these terms, we will not undertake to say.

There was a very remarkable difference, too, in the manner in which the advocates of the orthodox doctrine, before and some time after the Council of Nice, endeavored to repel the charge urged against them by their adversaries, of introducing two Gods. The former, in reply to the objections of Praxeas, Noëtus, Sabellius, and their followers, asserted that they wor-

shipped the one only and true God, who is over all, supreme; that the Son was inferior, another, different, — different in essence, the minister of the Father, and in all respects subject to his will, and entitled, therefore, to only inferior homage. Of these and similar expressions, however, the Arians took advantage; and they were, therefore, gradually dropped. The ground of defence was changed. Instead of saying that the Son was a different being from the Father, and inferior to him, the orthodox began to allege that they were of one individual essence; and, therefore, there was only one object of supreme worship. There were many passages of Scripture, however, which pressed hard upon this doctrine, and which *seemed* at least to speak of the Son as inferior to the Father. It was at this time that the fiction of the two natures in Jesus Christ was introduced, and then all difficulties vanished. The Son, as God, was co-equal with the Father; as man, he was inferior: as God, he could send; as man, he could be sent: in his human nature, he could pray to himself in his divine; as man, he could assert that he was ignorant of the day of judgment, which, as God, he knew.

The doctrine of the Trinity, however, was of very gradual formation. The learned Huet, a Trinitarian, confesses that "so late as the time of Basil," who flourished after the middle of the fourth century, "and still later, the Catholics dared not openly acknowledge the divinity of the Spirit." *

Petavius bears similar testimony. In the heading of one of his articles he says that "most Catholics dared not profess the Holy Spirit to be God, and the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople does not expressly call it God." He says that the first council which decreed expressly that the Holy Spirit is to be regarded as God, was that of Alexandria, over which Athanasius presided, A. D. 362.† The Constantinopolitan Council was held about twenty years later.

Neander has well observed, that the Spirit is "only adverted to in very general terms in the Nicene Creed." The clause in which it is referred to is, simply, "and in the Holy Spirit"; that is, supplying the ellipsis, "We believe in the Holy Spirit."

* *Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. ii. quæst. 2, § 10.
† *Dogmat. Theol.*, t. ii. lib. i. c. 14.

And so do we; so do all Christians. All believe in the Holy Spirit. But this language — the language of the creed — explains nothing, defines nothing. It does not tell us whether the Spirit is a person, or an influence; a breathing of the Spirit of God into the soul of the believer, or something else. Had the Fathers of the council believed it to be a person co-equal or consubstantial with the Father, why not say so? That they did not so declare, affords, we think, conclusive evidence that they did not so believe. Certainly the creed, compared with modern expositions of the doctrine of the Trinity, as consisting of a co-equal Three, is sadly defective. There is nothing in it, so far as the Spirit is concerned, which would exclude Arius. He believed in the Holy Spirit. "It has been alleged," says Neander, "that, at that time, there was no controversy respecting it [the Spirit.] But this ground is not correct; for it is evident from the express statement of Athanasius, that Arius applied the doctrine of subordination to the Holy Spirit. He placed the same distance between the Son and the Spirit as between the Father and the Son"; which, we add, was Origen's doctrine. "Even as late as A. D. 380," Neander observes "great indistinctness prevailed among different parties respecting this dogma, so that even Gregory Nazianzen could say, 'Some of our theologians regard the Spirit simply as a mode of divine operation; others, as a creature of God; others, as God himself; others, again, say that they know not which of these opinions to accept, from their reverence for Holy Writ, which says nothing upon it.' Hilary of Poictiers, a Nicene theologian," expresses himself in a similar way, and "does not venture to attribute to the Spirit the name of God, because the Scripture does not expressly so call him." Again: "Though Basil of Cæsarea wished to teach the divinity of the Holy Spirit in his church, he only ventured to introduce it gradually." * These are significant facts, which are wholly inexplicable on the supposition that the doctrine of the Trinity was the old doctrine, — the doctrine of the Nicene Council even.

We have said that the Fathers of Nice did not greatly innovate in *doctrine*. The Council of Constantinople (the second

* Neander, *Hist. Christ. Dogmas*, pp. 803–805.

general council), called A. D. 381, adopted the creed of Nice with an additional clause, declaring that the Holy Spirit is to be worshipped and glorified together with the Father and Son. "This creed," says Du Pin, "was not at first received by all churches, and there were some that would add nothing to the Nicene Creed. For this cause it was, perhaps, that no other creed but that of Nice was read in the Council of Ephesus [the third general council]; and there it was also forbidden to make use of any other." * This carries us to near the middle of the fifth century. Philostorgius tells us that Flavian of Antioch, in an assembly of his monks, was the first who "shouted forth" the doxology, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit": for before that time, he says, the usual form was, "Glory be to the Father, *through* the Son, *in* the Holy Spirit"; though some said, "Glory be to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit." † After all, however, the question, "What is the true doctrine of the Trinity?" remains unsettled. The orthodox or consubstantial faith was designed to occupy the middle ground between Sabellianism and Arianism. These were the Scylla and Charybdis the Fathers were so anxious to shun. In their solicitude to avoid Sabellianism, they came near being ingulfed in the vortex of Arianism. From the brink of this dreadful abyss, they started back with terror; and, from that period to the present, the "good ship" Orthodoxy has been tossed about by uncertain winds; and, when she has seemed to have found a safe anchorage, time has soon shown that she was moored upon shifting sands.

The Nicene Fathers led the way, by "converting," as it has been said, "what was before a scholastic subtilty into an article of the Catholic faith." In doing this, they made use of a very flexible term, which was capable of a signification entirely different from the received one. Other mischief they did, from the consequences of which the world has not yet recovered. They encouraged, by their example, the pernicious practice of creed-making; and bequeathed, as a legacy to after ages, the monstrous doctrine, that error, or supposed error, of opinion, may be lawfully punished as crime. The Arians,

* *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 272, and vol. iv. p. 200, Lond. 1693.
† *Hist.*, lib. iii. c. 13.

when they had the power, showed themselves too willing to tread in their steps. There was this difference, however, as Dr. Jortin observes, between the creeds of the Arians and those of the Orthodox: "The Consubstantialists drew up their creed with a view to exclude and distress the Arians. The Arians had no design to distress the Consubstantialists, but usually proposed creeds to which Athanasius himself might have assented; so that, if the compilers were Arians, their creeds were not Arian."* So far, the Arians showed a better spirit than their oppressors.

The Nicene Creed had been, to use the expression of Neander, originally "*forced* upon the Oriental Church"; and what evils hence flowed, what disputes arose, and what baleful passions were lighted up, history clearly teaches. At the commencement of the controversy, the Arians were the advocates of freedom, intellectual and religious; and their party embraced several of the best minds of the age. If afterwards they became changed in temper and feelings, the fact shows only that they were not exempt from the imperfections of our common nature.

* *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

EUSEBIUS THE HISTORIAN.

CHAPTER I.

CLAIMS OF EUSEBIUS TO OUR NOTICE. — HIS EARLY LIFE. — BISHOP OF CÆSAREA. — HIS STUDIES. — THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY. — THE PART HE TOOK AT THE COUNCIL OF NICE. — SUBSCRIBES THE CREED. — HIS PASTORAL LETTER IN EXPLANATION. — WANT OF FIRMNESS. — PRESIDES AT THE COUNCIL OF TYRE. — DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE. — THE EMPEROR WARMLY ATTACHED TO HIM. — DEATH AND CHARACTER. — HIS REAL BELIEF. — NOT A CONSUBSTANTIALIST. — HELD THE OLD DOCTRINE OF THE DERIVED NATURE AND INFERIORITY OF THE SON. — PROOFS FROM HIS WRITINGS.

IN our former chapters, we have often referred to the authority of Eusebius of Cæsarea; and, in connection with Arius and the Arian controversy, he appears a prominent figure on the stage of action. He lived at a period when theological opinions were in a transition state, but leaned rather to the old than the new. His name will be ever honored; though less, perhaps, for his intrinsic merit, — which, however, is by no means small, — than on account of the position he occupies as the father of ecclesiastical history. He is not the oldest Christian historian; for he was preceded by Hegesippus, — a writer in all respects, it would seem, his inferior. But of Hegesippus only a few small fragments remain, preserved mainly in the pages of Eusebius himself. To the latter we are indebted for a multitude of facts relating to Christian antiquity, which, but for him, would have been buried in oblivion.

Of the early life of Eusebius little is known. The work of his biographer, Acacius,* who was his pupil, and successor in the see of Cæsarea, has unfortunately perished; and, from the few incidental notices of himself in his own writings, we

* Socrates, *Hist.*, ii. 4.

can glean but little. It has been conjectured that he was born about the year 270; though, if he had Dionysius of Alexandria, the famous Paul of Samosata, and the Emperor Gallienus, for his contemporaries, — as some expressions employed by him would seem to imply,* — we must assign to his birth a somewhat earlier date. Of his parents no certain tradition is preserved. Nicephorus, indeed, a writer entitled to little respect, makes him (upon what authority he does not inform us) a nephew of Pamphilus; and others have called him his son. But neither account is in the least probable. For Pamphilus, we know, he cherished a lively and constant affection, and, after his death by martyrdom, took his name; but, from the language of Eusebius himself, he appears to have stood to him in no relation of natural affinity.

It has been generally supposed, and probably with truth, that Eusebius was a native of Palestine, and perhaps of Cæsarea; where, as he informs us in his letter to his people from Nice,† he was instructed in the Christian faith, and baptized. In his youth he must have been a diligent student; for he had great store of such secular learning as a knowledge of Greek (probably his native tongue, and the only one with which he seems to have been familiar) placed within his reach. He was admitted to the priesthood by Agapius, whom he afterwards succeeded in the office of bishop; unless, with some, we assign an intervening episcopate of two or three years to Agricolaus.‡ Among his fellow-presbyters was Pamphilus, already alluded to; with whom he lived in the intimacy of the strictest friendship, and whose memory he never ceased to honor. Pamphilus was born, probably, at Berytus; though Photius makes him a native of Phœnicia. He was a pupil of the celebrated Pierius of Alexandria, called, for his learning, a second Origen. Pamphilus himself was a warm admirer of Origen: he collected and transcribed his works; and, while in prison, employed himself, in conjunction with Eusebius, in writing his "Apology," of which five books were finished before

* *Hist.*, iii. 28; v. 28; vii. 26.

† Socrates, *Hist.*, i. 8; Theod., *Hist.*, i. 12.

‡ This name is sometimes placed on the catalogue of the Bishops of Cæsarea, between Agapius and Eusebius; probably, however, without reason.

his death, and the sixth added afterwards by his surviving companion. He was fond of literature, and assiduous, especially in the study of the Scriptures. He led a strict and philosophic life. He was resolute and persevering in whatever he undertook, and was remarkable for his benevolence. He cherished the cause of education and knowledge. He was a friend of the studious, and founded a theological school and an extensive library at Cæsarea; of the latter of which, some memorials are said still to exist in the collections of Europe. He suffered martyrdom in the year 309, after an imprisonment of two years, during which he constantly enjoyed the solace of his friend's society. In token of his grateful respect and affection, the latter wrote his life, in three books, now, however, lost; and, in his "History," he seems never weary of naming him, and always in terms of tender regard or glowing panegyric.*

After the death of Pamphilus, as it appears, and before the end of the persecution called Diocletian's, Eusebius visited his friend Paulinus at Tyre; where, as he tells us, he was witness of the sufferings and constancy of the martyrs.† He afterwards beheld the sad spectacle of the cruelties to which they were subjected in Egypt and Thebais,‡ and was himself thrown into prison. It was insinuated by his enemies that he escaped martyrdom at the expense of his integrity and honor as a Christian; but the reproach seems to have been undeserved.§

* *Hist.*, vi. 32; vii. 32; viii. 13; *De Mart. Palæst.*, cc. 7, 11. See also Socrates, *Hist.*, iii. 7; Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, c. 75; also *Adv. Ruf.*, and *Epist.* 41, al. 65, ad Pammach et Ocean.

† *Hist.*, viii. 7. ‡ *Ibid.*, viii. 9.

§ The insinuation, in fact, is destitute of all support, and the charge very improbable. It was not made at the time, nor until some years afterwards, when the part which Eusebius took in the Arian controversy had raised up to him bitter and scornful enemies. It was first brought forward, we believe, by Potamon, an Egyptian bishop, and an adherent of Athanasius. Potamon, a man accustomed to use the utmost license of speech (as Epiphanius, on whom the authority of the anecdote rests, admits), indignant at seeing Athanasius, at the Council of Tyre, stand in the character of a culprit, while Eusebius and others were seated as his judges, suddenly bursts out in a strain of loud invective: "Is this," says he, addressing Eusebius, "to be endured? Tell me, were you not with me in custody during the persecution? I, indeed, lost an eye in the cause of truth; but you appear unmutilated in person: you live,

But persecution had now ceased; and it is not surprising that Christians were exultant. Eusebius depicts those days in warm and glowing colors. A wonderful revolution, indeed, had taken place in the fortunes of the disciples of the cross. They had triumphed; they were free; and the remembrance of past misery heightened the sense of present happiness. No more racks and dungeons now; no more blood of martyrs slain for the faith of Jesus. The civil arm, which before oppressed, was now extending its friendly protection. The empire had become Christian, and the emperor was bestowing on his Christian subjects his most gracious smiles. He was feasting and complimenting them, and calling them his "dearest friends." The contrast was great. They now saw everything clothed in hues of light; and the feelings must

and are sound. By what means did you escape from prison, unless you promised our persecutors that you would do the nefarious thing, or did it?" (Epiph. *Hær.*, lxviii. c. 7.) Now, it is to be observed, not one word of proof is here offered. All is vague conjecture. Eusebius had found means of leaving prison; how, Potamon does not know. The circumstance, he says, looks suspicious.

No more does Athanasius, the determined foe of Eusebius, venture to affirm that there existed any evidence that the reproach was deserved. He simply quotes a letter of some Egyptian bishops, in which it is intimated that he was *accused* of having sacrificed. (*Apol. cont. Arianos.*) But could not Athanasius — who, during the time he was seated on the episcopal throne of Alexandria, might be regarded as the most powerful man in Egypt — easily have obtained proof of the impious act, had it been committed? The disposition, surely, was not wanting. "Was not Eusebius," it is asked in the letter, "accused by our confessors of offering sacrifice to idols?" And what then? Were not you, Athanasius, accused of foul crimes, and, among others, treason, sacrilege, and murder? And were you not banished by your sovereign as a "pestilent fellow," the foe of all peace and order?

Origen, before Eusebius, was accused of having thrown incense to idols. The charge was easily made or insinuated, and appears to have been resorted to by the malignity of enemies to depress an adversary or rival.

Multitudes of Christians, and some who had been thrown into prison during the severe persecutions, escaped without any improper compliance. Why might not Eusebius have been of the number? It is certain that his fame stood high immediately after the persecution under Diocletian ceased; for he was very soon advanced to the bishopric of Cæsarea. He was afterwards invited to the see of Antioch; and, finally, enjoyed the confidence of Christians generally to the end of life; which could hardly have been the case had there been any good ground for the charge alluded to. We feel little hesitation, therefore, in pronouncing the insinuation of Athanasius and his friend Potamon a calumny. Gibbon (chapter xvi.) makes a disingenuous use of this charge against Eusebius.

find expression, and the imagination would revel amid images of glory and felicity. All this was natural, and could hardly have been otherwise.

The churches which had been thrown down by the rage of persecuting tyrants were rebuilt with more than former splendor. Festivals and dedications frequently occurred, and all was .full of joy and promise. Among other churches erected at this period was the magnificent one at Tyre, which rose on the site of the old. Eusebius, who pronounced the oration or address at its dedication, — still preserved in the tenth book of his History, — describes it as a fabric of surpassing beauty and grandeur. This might well be. Christians now possessed wealth; and in their present circumstances, all their troubles at an end, they would be disposed to be liberal in their appropriations to church architecture, as in other things.

Eusebius was at this time Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine; to which see he had been appointed in 313 or 314, and where he seems to have found much leisure for study. He had literary tastes, and was fond of books; which he possessed here in abundance in the collection made by Pamphilus, to which he made large additions. He occasionally, too, visited Jerusalem, where there is said to have been a voluminous library. He was thus gathering materials for the learned works which he subsequently gave to the world.

The Arian controversy, of which we have given an account in the preceding chapters, must for a time have sadly broken in upon his literary labors. We have already spoken of his connection with this controversy, and of his presence at the Council of Nice. We must here explain his course and his views a little more fully. From first to last, he showed himself friendly to Arius. When, on his expulsion from Alexandria, Arius retired into Palestine, Eusebius afforded him a hospitable reception, and exerted himself, along with other Palestinian bishops, in his favor.

He took a prominent part in the proceedings of the council, having a seat at the right hand of the emperor, whom he addressed in a short introductory speech. We still have his pastoral letter, written home at the time, to explain some

things which might seem to need elucidation or defence.* It is somewhat apologetic in its tone, being intended to prevent that ill opinion his people might very naturally conceive of him on hearing of his subscription. In this letter he inserts at length the form of a creed which he proposed to the council, and which contained, as he affirms, the sentiments he had always believed and preached, and which, he adds, at first met the approbation of all present. Both the members of the council and the emperor, he tells us, appeared satisfied. But it was soon discovered, it seems, that the Arians could subscribe it, putting their own construction on its language. This, no doubt, Eusebius, who belonged to the moderate party, and was anxious to restore peace, foresaw; and it was precisely what he wished. But such a creed was not what the majority, who were determined to cut off Arius from the communion of the Church, wanted. They were for a time, it appears, at a loss for some epithet to apply to the Son, which the Orthodox could, and the Arians could not, adopt; till it was at length discovered, from a letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia, that the latter objected to saying that he was *consubstantial* with the Father; upon which, they eagerly pounced upon the term as exactly suited to their purpose. It is true, the term had been condemned about fifty years before, by the Fathers of the Council of Antioch, in the case of Paul of Samosata. But that circumstance might not have been recollected; or, if recollected, it mattered little, they might think. The word was convenient now, though it might not have been so then.

Constantine — who, from the first, had conceived the whole controversy to be of a very frivolous nature, and who was not disposed to stand on niceties of expression, which he probably very imperfectly understood; and who was, moreover, sincerely desirous to accommodate matters — readily adopted the word, and advised the rest to do the same. Eusebius, after a good deal of hesitation, subscribed the symbol in its new dress, containing the obnoxious word and two or three others, which, from his tenderness for the Arians, whom he was reluctant to condemn, he had avoided introducing into his proposed creed.

* Socrates, i. 8; Theodoret, i. 12.

He was, in consequence, afterwards accused, by his enemies, of insincerity and bad faith; for, though he seems to have avoided the use of expressions peculiarly Arian, he continued to befriend the Arians, and his heart appears to have been always with them.

With regard to his consent to the act of subscription, he, in the letter just referred to, put the best face he could on the matter. He tells his people that he long resisted, but that his scruples as to the use of the terms deemed exceptionable ("*consubstantial*," and "*begotten, not made*") were at length removed by the exposition given by the council of the sense in which they were to be taken; that is, as implying that the Son had no resemblance or community with the things made by him (as the agent of the Father in the creation of the material universe); that he is of *like* substance with the Father, though not a part of his substance; resembling him, but not identical with him. This explanation, though it would hardly pass for orthodox now, was consistent enough with the spirit of the Platonizing theology, from Athenagoras down to the time of Eusebius; and with it he professed to be satisfied, and finally assented to the whole, as he says, for the sake of peace!

As to the anathemas at the end of the creed, they only condemned, he said, the use of certain Arian expressions not found in the Scriptures. But Eusebius should have recollected, while holding this language, that the term which the Fathers of the council had adopted as a test of orthodoxy, and to the use of which he had assented, was also an unscriptural term; and on this very ground the Arians objected to it, and begged that it might not be imposed. They were ready, they said, in speaking of the Son, to employ all those terms and ascriptions of dignity which were found in the Bible. The subject of their complaint was, that with this their opponents were not satisfied, but insisted that they should adopt expressions of which there was no example in Scripture or antiquity.

Eusebius has been charged with insincerity in subscribing a creed which he did not believe. We are not disposed to admit the charge. We are willing to take his own account of the matter. He objected to some terms, one in particular, intro-

duced into the creed. The Fathers of the council explain the sense which the terms in question bore, as they understood them. In this sense — which, however, is not the sense they bear now — he could accept them; and so subscribes. In this we see no proof of insincerity. The only question is, whether he ought to have consented to the imposition of any creed whatever.

We could wish, to be sure, that he had manifested a little more firmness. It is difficult, we think, wholly to acquit him of the charge of having betrayed the cause of Christian liberty, either from personal timidity, and love of ease, or, as we are willing to admit, from the desire — sincere, no doubt, but unavailing — to put an end to the unhappy controversy which rent the church. The cause of Arius was the cause of religious freedom and the right of private judgment; and he should have been sustained, therefore, — at least, so far as not to have been subjected to suffer on account of any supposed criminality attached to his opinions as such. Eusebius must not only have felt the wish, from his benevolent nature and motives of personal friendship, to protect him; but, from the rank he held among the learned and wise of his age, from his elevated views and undoubted liberality of sentiment, he, if any one, might have been expected to have perceived the impropriety of imposing any restraint on freedom of thought, and, by his conduct, to have proved himself the enemy of uncharitableness and exclusion. By yielding, he lent the sanction of his name and influence to the measures of the exclusionists, generally his inferiors in all those qualities which give a title to respect; and the first general council, in conjunction with the "most pious Emperor" Constantine (the first of the Cæsars who acknowledged the faith of the cross), left to the world a pernicious example of intolerance and bigotry, which subsequent times have but too faithfully imitated.

The rich and splendid see of Antioch becoming vacant on the deposition of Eustathius for Sabellianism, in 330, the bishops, then assembled there, were desirous that Eusebius — the general consent and suffrage of the people being in his favor, though a faction insisted on the reinstatement of Eustathius — should transfer his residence from Cæsarea to Antioch,

and become its bishop ;* and, to effect their object, they petitioned Constantine to use his influence to induce him to comply. But he promptly refused, alleging as a reason an existing canon of the church prohibiting a change of sees ; and the emperor commended his decision, with many praises of his modesty and worth, in letters still preserved. He was worthy, in the complimentary language of Constantine, to be bishop of the whole world.

In 335, we find Eusebius among the bishops assembled at the Council of Tyre to hear charges which had been preferred against Athanasius. Eusebius was president of the council. From Tyre, the bishops, by command of the emperor, proceeded to Jerusalem, to dedicate the magnificent church recently erected there by his order. Eusebius has given a glowing description of the edifice intended by Constantine to "exceed all the churches in the world" in the beauty of its structure and the costliness of its materials.† The church, originally called the *Martyrium*, was designed as a memorial of our Lord's death, burial, and resurrection, the true cross having been recently discovered, as it was said, in the sepulchre which had been laid open. It was afterwards known as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The council assembled on the occasion, which was in part a continuation of that of Tyre, Eusebius pronounces the "greatest he had ever known," not excepting that of Nice, of which he also gives a particular description.‡ It was composed of bishops from all the provinces. Macedonia sent its bishop, and Pannonia and Mæsia the "choicest flower of God's youth in their country." The Bithynians and Thracians were there, and the ornament of the Persian bishops. Cappadocia was represented by men of "learning and eloquence." All Syria, likewise, and Mesopotamia, Phœnice, and Arabia; Palestine, also Egypt and Libya, and those who "inhabit the country of Thebais," all were there. An innumerable company of people out of all the provinces followed the bishops. The dedication took place on the Em-

* Soc., i. 24. The Consubstantialists were at this time accused of Sabellianism and Montanism, and were called blasphemers, as subverting the existence of the Son of God; while they, in turn, charged their opponents with polytheism, calling them Greeks (Pagans). — Soc., i. 23; Soz., ii. 18.

† *Vita Constant.*, iii. 28–40. ‡ *Ibid.*, iii. 7.

peror's *Tricennalia*, and was accompanied with festivity, speeches, and orations, of which Eusebius gives a brief account, not forgetting himself, to whom, he says, were "vouchsafed blessings much above our deserts." *

The tricennial oration — which, it seems, was delivered by him in the imperial palace at Constantinople, he having repaired thither immediately after the dedication — is still extant, being appended to his "Life of Constantine." The emperor, during the delivery of the oration, "seemed like one transported with joy." So says Eusebius, who takes care to inform us that this was the second time he had made a speech in presence of the emperor in his own palace. The emperor was very courteous, and insisted on listening in a standing posture: "for, though we entreated him," says Eusebius, "to rest himself upon his imperial throne, which was hard by, he would by no means be persuaded to sit"; nor would he allow the speech to be discontinued when it had run out to a great length, though "we were desirous to break off," but "entreated us to go on till we had ended our discourse." †

Eusebius, it seems, was often at court; and whether there voluntarily, or in consequence of a summons from the emperor, appears always to have succeeded in retaining his good graces, and returned to his humble diocese loaded with imperial caresses. The emperor often wrote to him, encouraged and facilitated his researches, and confided in his fidelity and prudence. When he wanted fifty copies of the Scriptures transcribed with the utmost accuracy for the use of his new churches at Constantinople, he applied to Eusebius as the fittest man in the empire to superintend the execution. He uniformly treated him with marked respect; and his letters to him, and others in which he is named, and which Eusebius — from a vanity quite pardonable, if from no better motive — has preserved, contain expressions of attachment evidently warm and sincere.

* *Vita Const.*, iv. 43–47. The Council of Nice (Nicæa, from a word signifying victory), took place on the Emperor's *Vicennalia*, which, according to Eusebius, had reference to his triumph over his enemies; but now was erected a monument to peace and to the Saviour's triumph over death.

† *Ibid.*, iv. 33, 45, 46.

The death of Eusebius is mentioned by Socrates; but he does not give the date. Constantine died A. D. 337; and Eusebius survived him long enough to pay a warm and grateful tribute to his memory, in what is termed a "Life," but which is more properly a panegyric; and died as early as the year 340, probably before, at the age of about seventy, perhaps a little more.

Along with some imperfections which lie on the surface, Eusebius possessed many great and good qualities. He was free from all asperity of temper; he had warmth of feeling, and was constant in his friendships. His amiable disposition, his love of peace and quiet, his general moderation and candor to those whose views placed them in opposition to him, have been universally admitted. He never, as Du Pin has remarked, labored to destroy Athanasius, or ruin his partisans, though he could not number him with his friends. He never abused his credit with the emperor to elevate himself or pull others down; but employed himself for the good and advantage of the Church, endeavoring to promote a spirit of accommodation, and reunite parties. He was never, we believe, accused of a grasping, avaricious disposition; but appears to have been content with a moderate fortune, and the enjoyment of the calm pleasures of a studious life.

It has been made a question, what Eusebius really believed; and the most diverse judgments have been pronounced on the subject in both ancient and modern times. Athanasius, among the ancients, pronounces him an Arian; Jerome, "the prince of Arians"; and Nicephorus, "an Arian, and worse than an Arian." Others expressed themselves in similar, though not all in equally strong, terms. Among the moderns, Cave makes an attempt to defend his orthodoxy against Le Clerc, who expresses his surprise that there should be people who venture to deny that Eusebius was an Arian, if they have read his writings. Montfaucon says, that he "makes the Son far less than the Father, and of a different substance."* Petavius has a formal argument to prove that he was not sound on the doctrine of the Trinity; that he was a "Semi-Arian," at least, not only before but after the council of Nice.

* *Prælim. in Euseb. Comment. in Psal.* (Eusebii *Opera*, t. v. ed. Migne.)

"Nothing can be clearer," says he; and in proof of the assertion he devotes the eleventh and twelfth chapters of his first book on the Trinity. Du Pin, though he pronounces it great injustice to stigmatize him as an Arian, yet thinks it impossible to defend his orthodoxy; and confesses that it has been vainly attempted by Socrates, Sozomen, and "some modern writers." *

That he was not, strictly speaking, an Arian, we think perfectly clear. He nowhere avows his Arianism; nowhere declares that he embraced Arius's peculiar views of the nature of the Son. Arius's distinguishing dogma was, that the Son was created out of nothing; that there was a time when he did not exist; in opposition to the doctrine which asserted that from all eternity he had a sort of metaphysical existence in the Father (that is, existed as his Logos, Reason, or Wisdom), but was either a little before the creation of the world, or, without reference to time, *thrown out*, or *prolated*, as it was expressed, and so became, by a voluntary act of the Father, a real being. This metaphysical nicety, Arius discarded; maintaining, that though the Son was, next to God, the greatest and best of beings, ranking both in time and dignity as the

* Those who wish to see authorities on the subject may consult Le Clerc's *Biblioth. Anc. et Mod.*, t. i. p. 170, xvi. 80, et seqq., xxviii. 240, et seqq.; also *Biblioth. Univ. et Hist.*, t. x. p. 479, et seqq.; and Le Clerc's Second Epistle, *Ars Crit.*, vol. iii.; Jortin's *Remarks*, vol. ii. pp. 229–242; Cave's *Lives*; Du Pin, *Nouvelle Biblioth.*, art. "Eusebius"; Petavius's *Theol. Dogm.*, vol. ii. lib. i. cc. 11, 12; and Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.*, vii. 81–88. See also "Veterum Test. pro Euseb., et contra Euseb.," which follow Valesius's Account of his Life and Writings, ed. Reading; Dr. Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and the Notes to Jackson's Novatian, where will be found a numerous collection of passages from Eusebius relating to his views of the Son and the Spirit. Neander mentions him as one of the "men of note" who "appeared as mediators" in the Arian controversy. He was "an adherent of Origen," and endeavored to convince both parties "that they held the views of their opponents to be worse than they really were." "Almost the only decided opponents of Origen during this period," says Neander, "were those who were the enemies of free scientific development or of spiritual views." Eusebius's system, he says, "coincides entirely with that of Origen." "He was of the opinion that the Son of God could not be called absolutely eternal, like the Father; that it was necessary to ascribe to him an origin of existence from the Father. . . . The existence of the Father precedes the existence and origin of the Son." Like Origen, however, he "would remove all relations of time." — *Hist. Dogm.*, pp. 262, 288; *Hist. Relig.*, vol. ii. pp. 367, 368.

first and chief of his creation, and was immutable, yet he did not always exist, but had a beginning. Eusebius nowhere expresses a belief that the Son was created out of nothing. He held, as we gather from his writings, the old doctrine of the Platonizing Fathers. He certainly held the old doctrine of the inferiority of the Son, and maintained that he derived his origin from the Father; but he did not think it important to define his nature. There were some points which he seems to have thought it unnecessary to discuss, as he did not deem the knowledge of them essential to salvation. That of the nature of the Son was one of them; for the promise of eternal life, he observes, is made to the *believer* in him, not to him who *knows his nature.*

It is certain that Eusebius was not a Consubstantialist in the sense in which Athanasius understood the term in his later years. The word, as we have seen, was not of his choice, nor to his taste; for it might imply what he did not believe concerning the nature of the Son. As the Platonists had used it, however, and as it might be understood to mean, not a *numerical*, but only a *specific* sameness, that is, *resemblance* (in which sense, the Fathers of the council, who seem to have been not a little perplexed in their attempts to define it, allowed him to take it), he consented, as before said, to adopt it. But, in this sense, it by no means excluded inequality and subordination between the Father and the Son. In these he firmly believed; and if such belief constituted Arianism, all antiquity, as it has been truly said, was Arian. But it does not: for it leaves undetermined the origin of the Son, who, as Arius contended, was called into being from nothing; while his opponents, the Consubstantialists, insisted on saying that he was *ineffably begotten.* Thus a person might believe that the Son was, from the time when he was begotten before the ages, a distinct being from the Father, and inferior to him, without adopting the distinguishing dogma of the Arians. This, no doubt, was the case with Eusebius. At all events, he was willing, for the sake of peace, to conform to the popular phraseology, and say, with the *Homoousians*, that he was *ineffably begotten.* This, we suppose, was the amount of his orthodoxy. He certainly never dreamed, any more than Ori-

gen (of whom he is known to have been a great admirer), of admitting the equality of the Father and Son in any legitimate sense of the term; and he seems to have placed the Spirit among the things made by the Son. Du Pin quotes a passage to this effect from his writings.

It may be proper to fortify our statements by a few extracts from Eusebius himself. Without hesitation he pronounces the Father and the Son two distinct subsistences; but says, "we do not suppose them to be two entitled to equal honor, nor both to be without a beginning and unbegotten; but one unbegotten and without beginning, the other begotten, having his origin from the Father."* "The head of Christ," according to the Apostle, he says, "is God."† The following is decisive enough, one would think. "The Father is of himself perfect and first, as Father, and the cause of the Son's subsistence; not receiving anything from the Son to the completing of his Divinity. But the Son as being derived from a cause is second to him whose Son he is, having received from this Father both his being, and his being such as he is."‡

Again, the ante-Nicene doctrine, as we understand it, is, that there is one God supreme over all, infinite, unbegotten, who alone possesses underived power and authority, and that Jesus Christ is not that one God. Hear what Eusebius says on this point. Although we confess Christ to be God, yet there is, says he, "One only God [that is, in an absolute sense], he who is alone without beginning, and unbegotten; who has his Divinity of himself [is self-existent], and is the cause to the Son of his being, and of his being what he is; by whom the Son himself confesses that he lives, saying without reserve, 'as the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father'; and, 'for as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he *given* to the Son to have life in himself.'" It is a gift, not something which he originally possessed in and of himself. He is not, like God, self-existent. A little after, "Is not he alone the one God," asks Eusebius, "who acknowledges no superior and no cause of his being, but possesses the divinity of his monarchical power as something peculiarly his own, original and unbegotten, and imparts to the Son of his own

* *Eccles. Theol.*, ii. 7. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Demonst. Evang.*, iv. 8.

divinity and life . . . whom alone he [the Son] teaches us to regard as the only true God, and confesses to be greater than himself . . . whom also he would have us all know to be his God."*

Eusebius speaks of the Son, or Logos, as being always with the Father, and he once applies the term "eternal" to his generation, which he elsewhere contradicts, when he says that the Father existed before the Son. He also, as we have seen, calls him God; uniformly, however, denying to him self-existence. He is begotten and derived. God, we are expressly told, was the "cause of his existence and of his being such as he was"; his divinity and power were derived from the Father. Thus he was subordinate. Further, Eusebius says, that the Son was not generated by the necessity of the divine nature, but was begotten by a voluntary act of the Father. Light, he says, shines forth from a luminous body, not from choice, but by a property of its nature. But the Son "by the intention and will of the Father was made to subsist in his likeness; for by will God became Father of the Son."† Again, "before all ages, he [the Son] received a real subsistence by the unutterable and inconceivable will of the Father."‡ And finally, "every one must confess that the Father is, and subsists before the Son."§

Nothing can more clearly show that Eusebius, in speaking of the Father as unbegotten and the Son as begotten, as he uniformly does, really meant what he said; the Son was not beginningless; the Father was an underived, the Son a derived being. The Father preceded the Son; and the Son was minister to the Father.‖

The dignity of the Son, according to Eusebius, was derived. "The Father," he says, "gives, the Son receives." He speaks of the Son as a "second substance." John calls the Word God, but "we must of necessity confess," says Euse-

* *Eccles. Theol.*, i. 11. † *Demonst. Evang.*, iv. 3. ‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Demonst. Evang.*, v. 1.

‖ Eusebius observes that when the Evangelist affirms that "all things were made by him," that is, by the Son, he uses the preposition (διά) which denotes the instrument, and not that (ὑπό) which denotes the efficient cause. *Eccles. Theol.*, i. 20. [See also *Eccles. Theol.*, ii. 14, where he remarks that "the preposition διά signifies ministerial agency," τὸ ὑπηρετικόν. — Ed.]

bius, "that he is not God over all, neither the Father himself, but his only-begotten Son; not equal with the Father . . . not one and the same with God." *

Eusebius says expressly that the "Father preceded the Son"; that he "existed before the generation of the Son." "That he existed before the generation of the Son," he says in another place, "all must confess."†

We can conceive of no way in which these passages can be reconciled with the writer's orthodoxy. Is any one disposed to say that it is of no consequence what Eusebius believed? In one view, his faith has some significance to us, certainly so far as our present argument is concerned. Eusebius professed to hold the old faith of Christians; and no one knew better than he what that faith was. He was a diligent inquirer, an antiquary, a collector of Christian documents of the then olden time. He had before him a multitude of writings, which have since perished, which had come down from primitive times. Who better than he knew what the old faith of Christians was? Yet he was no Trinitarian. It is a vain task to attempt to vindicate his orthodoxy, in the modern sense of the term. His creed would not stand the test before any Trinitarian council at the present day; nor, were he living now, holding the opinions he did, would he find it easy to be admitted into one of our Orthodox churches. He would be compelled to stand aside. His explanations of parts of the Nicene Creed, and especially of the word "consubstantial," would be fatal to him now. All the circumstances of the case taken into view, especially his opportunity (greater than is enjoyed by any of us) of knowing what the faith of the Christians of the first three centuries — time-honored men — was, his creed has, we think, great significance. That he was no Trinitarian is a fact which tells, and must tell. "An Arian, and worse than an Arian," is not literally true of him; yet he was not a Trinitarian. No one, we suppose, at this time of day, will undertake to vindicate his claim to be so called, according to the present usage of speech.

* *Demonst. Evang.*, v. 4; *Prep. Evang.*, vii. 15; *Eccles. Theol.*, ii 14.
† *Demonst. Evang.*, iv. 8; v. 1.

CHAPTER II.

CREDIT TO WHICH EUSEBIUS IS ENTITLED AS AN HISTORIAN. — CHARGES AGAINST HIM. — VALUE OF HIS MATERIALS. — HIS AUTHORITIES. — TRADITION. — LOST WRITINGS. — WRITINGS STILL EXTANT. — CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY. — LITERARY MERIT OF EUSEBIUS'S WORK.

WE shall not attempt here to give a catalogue of Eusebius's numerous writings. Some of them are lost; but enough remain to bear testimony to his industry and multifarious reading. The most important of them is his "History," in ten books, in which he has transmitted a multitude of facts and traditions relating to the early days of Christianity, and the character and writings of Christians; of which, but for him, no memorial would have been now left.

The degree of credit to which he is entitled as an historian is a question embarrassed by some difficulties, but one on which we must say a few words before we close.* First, he is charged with a deliberate suppression of the truth; thus knowingly, it is said, violating "one of the fundamental laws of history." This charge is founded on what he himself states respecting his purpose in writing, and the method he chose to pursue.† He has nearly reached the close of his history, and is relating what had fallen under his own eye; and he observes, that he shall put on record, in this his "universal history," only such things as might be "profitable" to Christians of his day and to those who should come after. He shall not describe, he says, the dissensions and unworthy conduct of Christians, tending to the disgrace of religion; he shall not mention all the faults and infirmities of the disciples of the cross, which he beheld with so much pain: he shall relate only matters of importance. "Whatsoever things are grave and of good report," says he, "according to the holy word, if

* For a more full discussion of the subject, we must refer our readers to an article in the *Christian Examiner* for July, 1835, pp. 291–312.

† *Hist.*, viii. 2; *Martyrs of Palestine*, c. 12.

there be any virtue and praise, these things I deem it most suitable to the renowned martyrs to recount and write, and commit to faithful ears;" omitting the rest, as foreign from his purpose, abhorrent to his feelings, and subserving no end of piety or virtue. This is the sum of what he says. Whether it justifies the very broad insinuation of the historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" * against the trustworthiness of Eusebius, the reader may be allowed to judge for himself. Eusebius might think very naturally that the hand of friendship might be permitted to throw a veil over the imperfections of his fellow-believers; he might not conceive that the interests of virtue or humanity required or authorized him, in all cases, to "draw their frailties from their dread abode." In this course we can see ingenuous feeling and elevated principle. If, in pursuing it, Eusebius has offended, we think the offence one which can be readily forgiven.

The second charge against Eusebius is of a more grave character: it is, that he approved the use of what are called "pious frauds"; or, as it has been expressed, that he was a "liar from principle." This charge rests on the title to the thirty-first chapter of the twelfth book of his "Evangelical Preparation." And, to be sure, the title, at first view, looks a little ominous; for it seems to tell us, that falsehood is to be sometimes employed, by way of medicine, for those who need it. But, if we read the chapter referred to, — a short one, — we find that it so explains or limits the principle laid down in the title, as to render it wholly, or in great part, innocuous; for it only recognizes the Platonic precept, that men are sometimes to be lured into the way of truth and virtue by the embellishments of imagination and fancy. Hence we employ fable and poetry and parable and song, and numerous rhetorical ornaments; and some of these, as it is rightly observed, occur in the Sacred Writings. They contain appeals to the imagination, and do not disdain the use of poetical imagery, and figures of speech. Speaking in accordance with human apprehensions, they introduce God as angry, jealous, grieved, and repenting, and subject to various perturbations, which can, in reality, have place only in frail and finite beings. These

* Gibbon, ch. xvi. vol. ii. p. 479, ed. Lond. 1821.

are some of the illustrations which Eusebius employs; and they show in what sense he understood the principle, and the extent to which he would push it. He is not speaking of historical composition, but of the modes of influencing the minds of men by rhetoric, ornament, allegory, and poetic fiction. But is he who approves these and similar methods of insinuating useful instruction to be branded as "a liar from principle," and a "defender of frauds"? On so slight a foundation do the disingenuous insinuations and sarcasms of Gibbon rest.*

In an examination of Eusebius's real merits and defects, or the credit to which he is entitled as an historian, our inquiries must naturally be directed to two points: first, the value of his materials; in other words, the sources whence he drew; and, secondly, his discretion, skill, and fidelity in the use of them. On both of these points we shall slightly touch.

It is obvious that Eusebius made no little use of unwritten tradition. In numerous instances, he prefaces his relation with some such expressions as these: "As it is said" or "reported"; "as we have received from tradition"; "according to ancient tradition"; "as we have understood." We are not to infer, however, that by these and similar expressions, which abound in his history, he always means *oral* tradition. The contrary is evident. He sometimes speaks of tradition, as delivered in written documents or commentaries, which he proceeds in some instances to quote.

It is quite clear, however, that he often appeals to common and unwritten report, or to tradition for some time handed down orally, though afterwards recorded. Now, two questions here present themselves, neither of which it is, at the present day, very easy to settle. First, to what respect is such tradition, in reality, entitled? and, secondly, what reliance did Eusebius himself place upon it? In regard to the first, it would be rash to affirm that common or traditionary report is,

* If Eusebius is to be condemned, what shall we say of the following charge brought by Le Clerc against the pious Cave? After observing that Cave would make the Bishop of Cæsarea orthodox by force, Le Clerc adds, "Mais Mr. Cave étoit un homme accoûtumé non seulement à dissimuler, mais à dire le contraire de ce qu'il pensoit, par une mauvaise politique; ce que a fait passer ses Histoires Ecclesiastiques pour des legendes mitigées." — *Biblioth. Anc. et Mod.*, t. iv. p. 19.

in all cases, to be rejected, as wholly unworthy of attention. It probably has, in most instances, some foundation, however slight, in fact. At the same time, it is to be received with great caution. We are required to sift it diligently; and we are allowed no inconsiderable freedom in lopping away such parts as bear apparent marks of exaggeration or addition, or which want the support of probability.

That Eusebius himself did not consider what he relates as matter of common report, to be entitled to implicit credit, seems to us very plain. He gives the tradition, and, as it would appear, leaves his readers to take it for what it is, in their opinion, worth. In sitting down to his work, he seems to have proceeded upon the principle recognized by Herodotus, the father of history. "I must relate things," says he, "as they are reported; but I am not obliged to believe all." * This circumstance we must keep in view, in order rightly to estimate Eusebius's merits as an historian. It has not been sufficiently attended to, and his reputation has suffered in consequence. Thus, because his relations have sometimes the air of fable, it is hastily concluded that he is a writer entitled to no respect. The inference is unsound, and does him great injustice. He has recorded traditions bearing various marks of probability or improbability; but he avowedly gives them as traditions, and we must receive them for what they are worth. Some of them he evidently regarded as suspicious. He has been perfectly honest. When he had authorities which he thought could be relied on, he has given them: when they were wanting, he has given us fair notice, that his statements are founded only on common or ancient rumor.

The lost writings appealed to by him, or writings in their present form manifestly corrupt or of doubtful genuineness, or of which only fragments have come down to us, are numerous. As fountains of history, they must have possessed various merit. Some of them appear to have been entitled to very little respect, and others to none at all. To the latter class we must refer his authorities for the reported correspondence between Abgarus and Jesus Christ, recorded in the first book

* Herodotus, lib. vii. c. 152.

of his "History." * The letters are undoubtedly a forgery, though we readily acquit Eusebius of all participation in the fraud. The originals existed, as he tells us, in the Syriac language, in the archives of the city of Edessa, whence they were taken *by* or *for* him (for his language is ambiguous), and translated into Greek. This is all he says of their history; and we see no reason whatever to call in question his good faith. But he suffered himself to be egregiously duped: A document undoubtedly came to his hands, purporting to have been drawn from the archives referred to, which he hastily received as ancient and authentic.

The forgery would give us little concern, were it not that so gross a blunder of Eusebius, at the very threshold, affects his character as an historian. If he had so little critical sagacity as to be imposed upon by so palpable and clumsy a fraud, it may be asked, What reliance can be placed on his judgment in any case? Does not the fact go to show a degree of carelessness, and want of discrimination, in the selection of his materials, which must essentially impair our confidence in the credibility of his narrative in other instances? Undoubtedly it tends to inspire distrust of his judgment, and places us under the necessity of subjecting his authorities to the test of rigid examination, when in our power. But this we are compelled to do in case of most ancient, and but too many modern, historians. In this respect, Eusebius does not stand alone.

Whether the account of the sufferings of our Saviour, reported to have been sent by Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius, and referred to by Justin Martyr and by Tertullian, is to be classed with the above mentioned in the rank of forgeries or not, or had only an imaginary existence, it is not material to our purpose to inquire; as Eusebius, who seems never to have seen it, does little more than allude to it, and can hardly be said to have used it as an authority at all.

Among the authorities entitled to some, though to very little respect, we may place Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis. Papias was a great collector of traditions, and, whenever he met with a person who had seen and conversed with the Apostles and elders, was particular in his inquiries as to what they said;

* Cap. 18.

"what Andrew and what Peter said"; what "Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew and the other Apostles were wont to say"; what "John the elder" said. He left a work, in five books, apparently a sort of commentary on our Lord's discourses or life, extant in Eusebius's time; but Eusebius himself pronounces him to have been a man of very small capacity, and says that he propagatcd several fabulous legends. Indeed, he seems to have been a person of unbounded credulity, — utterly destitute of discrimination and judgment. He first gave currency among Christians to the doctrine of Chiliasm, or the one thousand years' reign of Christ on earth, with his saints, in the enjoyment of corporeal delights; which Irenæus and others, having regard to the "antiquity of the man," adopted and defended, but to which the mighty arm of Origen Adamantius finally gave a death-blow. Papias, in peering about for traditions and old stories, of which he seems to have collected a goodly number, no doubt gleaned some truths; but he is evidently no authority for anything, except as a witness to what he saw and heard, if so much as that.

In regard to lost works, or works of which only a few fragments have reached our times (preserved, perhaps, by Eusebius himself), we may observe, that, from the time of Justin Martyr, or from about the middle of the second century, these works, used by Eusebius as authorities, begin to multiply. Among them we may mention Hegesippus, a converted Jew, who flourished about the year 170, and wrote five books of "Ecclesiastical Memoirs," of which we have now only some fragments found in Eusebius, and a very short one quoted by Photius at second-hand. Eusebius speaks of him with great respect, though he seems to have been a rude and incoherent writer; and the judgment of the Christian world concerning him has been generally unfavorable.*

* Kestner, in a dissertation inserted in his treatise "De Eusebii Auctoritate et Fide Diplomatică," Gott. 1816, has attempted a defence of the historical fidelity of Hegesippus — we do not think, with entire success — against what he calls the unjust and perverse judgments pronounced concerning him. He had been called a dealer in fables, and a most futile trifler, rather than an historian; and Stroth had said that he is so incoherent, that "you would think you were reading the meditations of a shoemaker in the language of a Scythian." The specimens of his performance, given by Eusebius, certainly

In his sixth and seventh books, Eusebius draws largely on the epistolary writings of Dionysius, called the Great, Bishop of Alexandria. In his preface to his seventh book, he acknowledges his numerous obligations to him. He says that Dionysius shall compose the book in his own words, relating the occurrences of his times in the letters he has left. Dionysius was an honest man, and reputed to be learned and eloquent. He mingled much in the affairs of Christians of his time, A. D. 247; and wrote of what he had seen and heard, and in which he was a chief actor. His authority, allowing for the ordinary weaknesses and imperfections of human nature, is entitled to great respect.

These are among the documents existing before his day, which are expressly named by him as authorities which have now wholly, or in part, perished, and of many of which we have only portions preserved by him. To these we must add the productions appealed to by him, which have entirely, or in a great measure, survived the injuries of time, and of the value of which, therefore, we can judge for ourselves; as the works, still extant, of Josephus, Philo, Justin Martyr, Clement the Alexandrian, Tatian, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, and two or three imperial rescripts or letters. He derived assistance, no doubt, from other sources. He speaks of the rich collection of letters preserved in the library at Jerusalem, which furnished important materials for his use.* He often, however, omits to name his authorities, either from ignorance or carelessness, or perhaps because the general consent of writers seemed to render specification unnecessary.

In the preface to his eighth book, Eusebius informs us that he is about to relate events which happened in his own times. Of his ten books, then, he devotes three to contemporaneous history. He professes to speak of what he saw and knew, not always naming documents or authorities; yet often, especially near the close, appealing to letters and edicts of the emperors, several of which he has preserved entire. It must be admitted, that no man of his times had better means than he of becoming

do not tend to inspire any very deep regret for its loss (Euseb. *Hist.*, ii. 23; iii. 16, 20, 32; iv. 8, 22).

* *Hist.*, vi. 20.

acquainted with the general affairs of Christians; though, in estimating the merit of this part of his narrative, we must not forget the difficulty of arriving at truth from the reports — often inaccurate, partial, and colored — of contemporaries, subject, as their minds must be, to the disturbing influence of human passions, partiality, or prejudices.

From this slight survey of the fountains to which Eusebius had access, it is quite obvious that his materials were of various merit: some being of the very best kind; others, to say the least, very suspicious; and some utterly without value. He had, at times, clear lights to direct him on the road; at others, he was compelled to thread his way amid surrounding darkness.

We do not pretend to assert that he was always thorough in his researches, or had recourse, in all instances, to the best sources of information. Yet he sometimes discriminates, and manifests some solicitude, certainly, about the worth of the documents used by him. He frequently notes the time when, and the authors by whom, they were written. Examples might be given in abundance; but the enumeration would be tedious.* In his fifth book, however,† there occurs a statement which, in justice to him, we cannot pass over; for it shows that he was not utterly careless and indifferent about his authorities. Thus, after mentioning some writings of which the authors and their times were known, he proceeds to say that many more pieces had come to his hands, the authorship and date of which he had no means of ascertaining; and therefore, he observes, he could not make use of them nor quote them. He sometimes, too, assigns reasons, historical and critical, for rejecting certain writings which fall under his notice; of which we may mention, as an example, the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, and others; also the Acts of Andrew and John and others of the Apostles; and some writings attributed to Clement of Rome.‡

Of the use Eusebius made of his materials, we need say

* He is sometimes, however, loose and inaccurate, and occasionally gives contradictory statements, of which we have an example in his account of the time of Hegesippus. Comp. *Hist.*, iv. 8; and *Ibid.*, cc. 21, 22.

† Cap. 27.

‡ *Hist.*, iii. 25, 38.

little. That his diligence in collecting was greater than his care and skill in using the stores he had accumulated, will be readily admitted. He is not a skilful narrator. He has not fused down his materials into a mass of pure ore. He has left much rubbish, which a more scrupulous judgment would have swept away. His work belongs to an age not imbued with the spirit of philosophical criticism, and it bears numerous marks of haste and inadvertency. As a production of art, it is full of blemishes. Yet we should be grateful for the many precious remains of antiquity it has saved from destruction, and the numerous traditions it was the means of arresting in their passage to the gulf of oblivion. Eusebius should be read with judgment, that we may separate the wheat from the chaff. We believe that he meant to be faithful; though we cannot say of him, that he "left nothing to be forgiven." But his errors are those of human infirmity, and afford, in our opinion, no ground for those sweeping conclusions which would annihilate, at a blow, his historical credit.

THE APOSTLES' CREED.

CHAPTER I.

THE APOSTLES' CREED NOT THE PRIMITIVE CREED. — WAS NOT FRAMED BY THE APOSTLES. — TESTIMONIES OF THE LEARNED. — UNFOUNDED TRADITION AS TO ITS ORIGIN. — OLDER CREEDS. — ORIGINAL FORM OF THE APOSTLES' CREED. — COMPARISON OF IT WITH THE ROMAN AND ORIENTAL, AND THAT OF AQUILEIA. — THE CLAUSE "DESCENDED INTO HELL." — THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS. — NO EARLY NOTICE OF THEM. — NOT OF APOSTOLIC ORIGIN. — TIME OF THEIR COMPOSITION. — THEIR ARIAN COMPLEXION. — OLD FORM OF ASCRIPTION.

WRITERS sometimes speak of the "primitive creed"; by which they do not always mean the creed of Peter, the oldest Christian creed of which we have any account, — "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." This was the only article of faith originally deemed necessary to constitute a person externally a Christian. It presupposed, of course, a belief in one God, the Father. But the Jews had already been initiated into this belief. "Ye believe in God," said Jesus: he adds, "Believe also in me" as the "Christ," the "Anointed," the commissioned of him; the only additional truth the belief of which he required as distinctive of the Christian profession. We find the two articles again conjoined in his last solemn prayer: "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."* And thus we find that Jews and others, already acknowledging the existence of the only true God, were, by the Apostles, admitted to baptism, on simply professing, in addition, their belief of the latter article.

We here see the origin of creeds. They were baptismal confessions; baptism being regarded as an initiatory rite, by

* St. Paul's creed corresponded: "There is one God; and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus."

which a person was introduced into the community of believers, — numbered among Christians. These confessions were the symbol, sign, token, or mark, of Christian faith, as the ceremony of baptism was of Christian consecration. They embraced originally, as we have said, in addition to the belief in the existence of one God over all, the Father (always tacitly implied, if not expressed), one simple truth, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God; which was the *primitive* Christian creed, as a belief in the one only true God constituted the primitive Jewish creed. Other articles were added from time to time, according to the discretion of individuals, or communities of believers.

The most fruitful source of additions was the numerous heresies which, in process of time, sprang up in the Church, in opposition to which new clauses were successively introduced into the creeds, or symbols. They were thus perpetually growing in bulk, and, in the same proportion, becoming more dark and metaphysical, abounding more and more in absurd or unintelligible distinctions and refinements, till every feature of their original simplicity was obliterated.

The Apostles' Creed is sometimes referred to as the "primitive creed" of Christians; and it is still sometimes insinuated that it was of apostolic origin. That it was not the production of the Apostles, however, is a point which has been long universally conceded by the learned, both Protestant and Catholic; and to go into a discussion of it would be a mere waste of time and labor. Hear what Mosheim, an author whose statements are entitled to some little respect, says in reference to the opinion which assigns the composition of it to the Apostles: "All who have any knowledge of antiquity confess unanimously that this opinion is a mistake, and has no foundation."* Dr. Isaac Barrow, an old English divine of great eminence, speaks of the "original composition and use" of the creed as "not known"; and argues, that, "in ancient times, there was no one form generally fixed and agreed upon"; that "the most ancient" and learned of the Fathers "were either wholly ignorant that such a form, pretending the Apostles for its authors, was extant, or did not accord to its pretence, or did

* *Institutes of Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 79, Murdock's translation.

not at all rely on the authenticalness thereof." * Dr. Barrow wrote more than a century and a half ago. The well-known Du Pin, too, a little later, resolutely combated the notion, that the creed was written by the Apostles; pronounces it "very improbable"; says that it is evident that the Apostles "did not draw up any one form of faith comprehended in a set number of words"; that there is "no rashness here in departing from the vulgar opinion"; that the advocates for its apostolic origin are obliged to yield, when urged, and acknowledge that "our creed is not the Apostles' as to the words." † "That it is rash to attribute it to the Apostles," says Buddeus, "is not only proved by the clearest reasons, but the more prudent and candid among the Romanists themselves confess it." ‡ "All learned persons," says Sir Peter King, "are now agreed, that it never was composed by the Apostles." § "It is not known by whom, or at what precise time," observes Bishop Tomline, "this creed was written." "The Apostles did not prescribe any creed." ‖ "It was by no means the opinion in the beginning," says Neander, "that the Apostles had drawn up any such confession in words"; and he calls the story of the apostolic origin of the creed in question a "fable." ¶ Hagenbach does the same. He thinks the creed "most probably composed of various confessions of faith, used by the primitive Church in the baptismal service." It did not, he says, proceed from the Apostles themselves.**

We might adduce numerous other testimonies; but the above are sufficient, and more than sufficient, to show what all the world, with the exception of those who have not cared to learn, know already, — that the question of the apostolic origin of the creed has been long satisfactorily settled. The tradition which ascribes to it such an origin cannot be traced in any writings now extant, or of which we have any account, of a

* *Exposition on the Creed*; Works, vol. i. p. 357, fol. Lond. 1716.

† *Hist. Eccles. Writers*, vol. i. p. 10, Lond. 1692.

‡ *Ecclesia Apostolica*, p. 191, Jen. 1729.

§ *Primitive Church*, part ii. p. 57, Lond. 1719.

‖ *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, art. viii. See *Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. ii. pp. 224–226, ed. Lond. 1804.

¶ Neander, *Hist. of the Christ. Relig. and Church*, vol. i. pp. 306, 307.

** *Text-Book*, etc., First Period, § 20, p. 52.

date earlier than the end of the fourth century. We first meet with it in Rufinus, Bishop of Aquileia, who wrote late in the fourth and early in the fifth century.* "The Apostles," says he, "according to the tradition of the Fathers, being about to disperse to carry the gospel into different parts, assembled to determine the rule of their future preaching; and, being full of the Holy Spirit, each one of them contributed what was agreeable to his own views; thus forming a creed which was to guide them in their teachings, and to be delivered as a rule to believers." † The writer of a piece falsely attributed to Augustine proceeds so far as to point out the particular article contributed by each Apostle.

Had this tradition been founded in truth, it is difficult to account for the fact, that the creed was not, like the other known productions of the Apostles, admitted into the number of canonical writings; that Luke, in relating the acts of the Apostles, has observed a total silence on the subject; and, still further, that no allusion to any such document, as a production of the Apostles, occurs in any of the learned Fathers of greater antiquity than Rufinus, — as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Lactantius, the historian Eusebius, Athanasius, and many others; though, in their disputes with heretics, occasions innumerable occurred on which they could have alleged nothing more appropriate and decisive than several clauses of the creed, had it existed as a known or reputed relic of the Apostles. During the same period, councils were assembled, some of which framed creeds which were regarded as authoritative, and were used in the rite of baptism (an act then deemed of the greatest solemnity); yet in none of the canons of those councils, and in none of their creeds, is there the slightest allusion to any existing creed claiming an apostolic sanction. It is further observable, that whenever the ante-Nicene Fathers attempt, as they frequently do, to give a sort of abstract of Christian doctrine, they allow themselves no

* We make no account of a piece attributed to Ambrose of Milan, containing an allusion to the tradition; since the document is admitted, by universal consent, to be spurious. Were it genuine, its testimony would add little weight to the tradition; being contemporary, or nearly so, with that of Rufinus. Ambrose died A. D. 398. Rufinus survived him but twelve years.

† *Expositio Symboli.*

small latitude both of sentiment and expression, always differing from each other, and from themselves at different times; a circumstance which can be explained only on the supposition, that there was no authoritative symbol to which they could appeal, but that each individual or body and division of believers were left to express their own views of Christian truth in their own way. The Roman creed, in the form in which we first meet with it, differed from the old Oriental, in existence, it would seem, before the Nicene or Constantinopolitan; and both, as we shall presently see, from that of Aquileia. It differed, too, from the Jerusalem creed, expounded by Cyril about A. D. 340; and yet, had the Apostles, before their separation (as the tradition given by Rufinus states), composed a creed to be the rule of their future preaching, and a standard of faith to all believers, the fact must have been known to the Christians of Jerusalem; and we can hardly suppose that the church in that place, the mother of all the rest, would have suffered so valuable a legacy to be lost, and the very memory of it to have perished.

Rufinus, in his account of the origin of the creed, was followed by Jerome and the Latin Fathers generally; and the tradition was currently believed till the time of the Reformation. Erasmus was one of the first in modern times to call in question its title to respect as an apostolic document; and subsequent inquiries, as we have said, have led to the utter rejection of its claims to be so considered.

It is more difficult to trace the origin and gradual completion of the Apostles' Creed than to refute the hypothesis which ascribes it to an act of the Apostles. In its primitive and simpler form, it may possibly have been the baptismal creed of the Roman Christians. As the Roman Church rose to celebrity, its creed, of course, would grow in dignity and importance along with it; and when finally it came to be denominated, by way of eminence, the "Apostolical" Church, founded, according to tradition, by the very chief of the Apostles and by Paul, it is not surprising that its symbol also should have claimed for itself the distinction of an apostolic origin.

There are several other creeds, or summaries of faith, however, of which an earlier record remains than of this. Irenæus,

Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, gives us two, one shorter and one longer, but wholly unlike the Apostles' Creed.* Tertullian, about the year 200, knew nothing of the Apostles' Creed. "In its present form, it was not known to him as a summary of faith," says Bishop Kaye.† Tertullian's creeds, of which we have three, want some articles found in the Apostles'. One of these, which he calls the one only fixed and unchangeable rule of faith, we have already quoted.‡ It is much shorter and simpler than that known as the Apostles'; and what is remarkable is, it contains no allusion whatever to the Holy Spirit; and has no article on Christ's "descent into hell," on the "holy Catholic Church," the "communion of saints," or the "remission of sins."

Two passages occur in the writings of Origen, containing a creed or general summary of Christian truth, as he understood it, and as it was to be gathered, as he says, from the Scriptures.§ Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, about the middle of the third century, comes next, who tells us that persons, on being baptized, were required to express their belief "in God, the Father; his Son, Christ; the Holy Spirit; the remission of sins; and eternal life through the holy Church." ‖ We have another, by Gregory Thaumaturgus, of Neocæsarea, a disciple of Origen, somewhat longer, and more dark and metaphysical, and as unlike as possible to the Apostles' Creed.

Nothing else in the shape of a creed occurs in any genuine writing of the first three centuries.¶ The Nicene soon followed, which was somewhat augmented by the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381; and the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon (the former A. D. 431, and the latter A. D. 451) forbade the making or the use of any other, taking no notice

* *Adv. Hær.*, lib. i. c. 10, and lib. iii. c. 4.

† *Eccles. Hist., illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian*, p. 306, 3d edit.

‡ The creed is prefaced with these words: "Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis, et irreformabilis." This creed is given in the first chapter of his tract *De Virginibus Velandis*. The other two are found, *Adv. Prax.*, c. 2; and *De Præscript. Hæret.*, c. 18.

§ *Comm. in Joan.*, t. xxxii.; Proem to *Book of Principles*.

‖ *Epist.* lxxvi.

¶ A confession of faith, contained in a letter ascribed to the first Council of Antioch, and addressed to Paul of Samosata, is sometimes quoted by those who are not aware that the document is spurious.

of the Apostles' Creed, and thus virtually excluding it.* It was not customary to recite the creed at every administration of divine service, in the Eastern Church, before the beginning of the sixth century, and, in the Western, till near the end of the same; and the creed thus recited was the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan, just referred to, and not the Apostles'.

Rufinus (to whom, as we have said, we are indebted for the tradition of the apostolic origin of the creed) has preserved a copy of it as it existed in his time, the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, under three different forms as used in different churches; or rather he has given us three creeds, — the Roman, the Oriental, and that of Aquileia. That the Roman, in its more brief form, existed before his time, is not to be doubted, for its simplicity bears decided marks of antiquity; but of its history previous to this period nothing certain is known. Sir Peter King, in his excellent work,† has attempted to analyze it, and distinguish the articles of which it was originally composed from the clauses afterwards introduced in opposition to the several heresies which successively sprang up in the Church; but, from the paucity of facts history has preserved, he is often compelled to resort to arguments which are purely conjectural.

It appears from Rufinus, that the first article of the Roman Creed, as it stood in his time, and of that of Aquileia, wanted the clause, "Maker of heaven and earth"; and that the creed of Aquileia had, instead of it, "invisible and impassible," added, according to Rufinus, in opposition to the Sabellian heresy. The Roman, too, omitted the epithet "one" before "God," and stood simply, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty." The second article differs little in the three creeds, except in the collocation of the words, which varies considerably; and, instead of "Jesus Christ," the Oriental Creed reads, *one* Jesus Christ, in common with the Nicene

* The fact is adverted to by Charles Butler in the following words: "When the Council of Ephesus, and afterwards the Council of Chalcedon, proscribed all creeds except the Nicene, neither of them excepted the symbol of the Apostles from the general proscription." — *Historical and Literary Account of Confessions.*

† *History of the Apostles' Creed, with Critical Observations on its several Articles.*

and the older Greek creeds generally. The present creed retains the article as it stood in the Roman. The third article is the same in the three; the present creed differing verbally from all. In the fourth article, the words "suffered" and "dead," found in the present creed, are wanting in the three ancient; and the phrase "descended into hell" is found only in that of Aquileia, being wanting in both the Roman and Oriental. The fifth is the same in all four, as also the sixth, excepting that the epithet "Almighty" is wanting in that of Aquileia and the Roman. The seventh is the same precisely in all. In the eighth, the present creed repeats "I believe," which is not found in this place in either of the three mentioned by Rufinus. In the ninth article, the present creed differs in three particulars from that of Aquileia, the Roman, and Oriental. In the three latter, the word "catholic" is wanting, as also the phrase "communion of saints," at the end; and the words "I believe," which are wanting in the preceding article, are inserted at the commencement of this. In the three old creeds, the article was, simply, (I believe) "in the holy Church." The tenth article is the same in all; the eleventh also, with a single exception; that of Aquileia having "*this* body," instead of "*the* body," as in the rest. With this clause the three old creeds end; the twelfth article, or "and the life everlasting," found in the present creed, being wanting in all.*

Some of these variations are, in themselves, unimportant. It will be perceived, however, from our comparison, that, since the end of the fourth century, the Roman or Apostles' Creed has received four considerable additions, — the clause "descended into hell," in the fourth article; the epithet "catholic"; and the clause "communion of saints," in the ninth; and the whole of the last.

The clause "descended into hell" first appears, it would seem, in the Arian creed of Ariminum, A. D. 359. It is also found in a creed recorded by Epiphanius, who flourished in

* Rufin. *Expositio Symboli.* See also Du Pin, vol. i. p. 3; and G. J. Vossius, *De Tribus Symbolis*, Dissert. i. §§ 31–43. Bunsen, in his *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, forming the last three volumes of his *Christianity and Mankind*, gives the three creeds — the Roman, the Oriental, and that of Aquileia — along with the Nicene. — Vol. iii. pp. 92–94.

the latter part of the fourth century; and also in that of Cyril of Jerusalem. At what time it was admitted into the Roman and Oriental creeds, we have no means of ascertaining. It was adopted, as Sir Peter King thinks, as an antidote to the heresy of Apollinarius, who denied the reality of Christ's human soul.*

* The clause "descended into hell," has greatly perplexed modern theologians. That such, however, was the belief generally of Christians of the first three, or certainly of the second and third centuries, its absence from the creed notwithstanding, has been abundantly proved, we conceive, by the Rev. Frederic Huidekoper, in his very learned work on the "Belief of the First Three Centuries concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld." The purpose of this "Underworld Mission" of Christ, as stated by Mr. Huidekoper, who sustains his position by numerous quotations from the early Fathers, was to "preach to the Spirits in prison," that is, to prophets, patriarchs, and righteous men who were there detained, and liberate them. Some, however, believed that he preached to all, though he did not change their place of abode, but left them to remain there till the general resurrection. But several of the most eminent of the Fathers were of the opinion first stated. Christ descended to Hades to preach to the people of God, — to prophets and righteous men, who there waited his coming.

There he had a fearful conflict with the Devil and overcame him, and took with him out of Hades the souls for whose deliverance he came, transferring them to Paradise. This was transacted in the interval between his death and resurrection. But though victorious in the end, the soul of Jesus endured terrible suffering. It was given as a "ransom," not, says Origen, "to God," but to "the Evil One, for he held us in his power until the soul of Jesus should be given him as our ransom, — he being deceived by the supposition that he could hold it in subjection, and not perceiving that it must be retained at the cost of torture which he could not endure." (Huidekoper, p. 87.) The Devil bore his defeat as best he could. According to the Fathers he had been *outgeneralled:* the incarnation of Jesus had been concealed from him; he plotted his death through the hands of wicked men. So completely had he been mystified, as Clement of Alexandria has it; but when he found him in his own dominions and learned who he was, he was filled with consternation, for a stronger than he had come, who entering his house, — the "house of death," — first bound him, after a terrible battle, then, as Origen expresses it, "plundered his goods," that is, "carried off the souls he held," and "thence ascending on high, led captive the captives."

Such was the theology of the Fathers connected with the descent of Christ into hell. Mr. Huidekoper gives in an Appendix the "modern views" of this clause of the creed. The Lutherans accepted it without explanation; the Calvinists, finding it inconsistent with their belief of two fixed states after death, glossed it over by saying that the soul of Jesus during his sufferings, and especially while on the cross, was plunged into "inexpressible anguish, pains, terrors, and *hellish* agonies." The Anglican Church adopted it at first — in the fourth year of Edward — with an explanation which was afterwards, in the time of Elizabeth, omitted. Pearson, in his "Exposition of the Creed,"

The term "Catholic" first appears in the creed of Alexander of Alexandria, about the period of the rise of the Arian controversy. It is found also in Epiphanius, from whom it passed to the Latins. At what time it found its way into the Roman Creed, is uncertain. The clause "communion of saints" was added, as is supposed, in reference to the schism of the Donatists, — probably during the fifth century. It is not known on what occasion, or when, the last clause, relating to the "life everlasting," was added. The creed first appears, in its present form, in the time of Gregory the Great, who died A. D. 604.

The Apostles' Creed is not a Trinitarian document, in the modern sense of the term; for it speaks of no co-equal Three — no Three in One. The same is true of the other creeds we have compared with it, and of the writings attributed to the Apostolic Fathers. These writings, as we have seen, are not witnesses for the Trinity. The supremacy of the Father was a doctrine of the Church when they were written, whenever it was.

In connection with the Apostles' Creed, we must say something of the "Apostolical Constitutions," including what are called the "Canons of the Apostles."* We have no intention, however, of entering into any elaborate discussion on the subject of their origin, history, and worth. We shall content ourselves with the briefest possible notice. These, no more than the creed, are to be ascribed to the Apostles as their authors.

There is no notice of any production, under the title of "Apostolical Constitutions," by any writer during the first three centuries of the Christian era, nor until late in the fourth. Epiphanius, who wrote during the latter part of the fourth century, and died early in the fifth, is the first who names a

devotes a long article to the subject, which he concludes as follows: "And thus, and for these purposes, may every Christian say, I believe that Christ descended into hell" (pp. 340–380, ed. Lond., 1842). This he acknowledges was the universal belief of the Christian Fathers; on this point, — "Christ's local descent into the infernal parts, —" he says (p. 357), "they all agree."

* An edition of the "Constitutions" and "Canons" was published in New York in 1848, with a "prize essay" on their "origin and contents," translated from the German, by Irah Chase, D. D.

work with this title. He quotes from what he calls the "Constitution of the Apostles," — a composition, he says, which, though held of doubtful authority by many, is not to be condemned, since it contains a true account of the ecclesiastical discipline and laws. Eusebius and Athanasius, it is true, refer to what they call the "Teachings" or "Doctrine" of the Apostles; and it has been thought by some, that under this title they designated the work afterwards quoted by Epiphanius. But of this there is no decisive evidence, and their identity is matter of conjecture merely. With the exception of Epiphanius, if he be an exception, none of the distinguished writers of the fourth century allude to the work; and the next mention we find of it is in what is known as the "Incomplete Work on Matthew," written after the death of Theodosius the Great, and it may have been late in the fifth century. This is all the external evidence relating to the existence of such a work, found within the first five centuries; and it is not certain that our present "Constitutions" is the same work quoted by Epiphanius. If substantially the same, it is very clear that it has been interpolated, or has received additions, or both, since his time.

The work claims to have the Apostles for its authors, and is sent out in their name through their "fellow-minister, Clement." It begins thus: "The Apostles and elders to all who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ: Grace and peace from Almighty God through our Lord Jesus Christ," etc. In the fourth chapter of the eighth book, we have these words: "Wherefore, we, the twelve Apostles of the Lord, who are now together, give you in charge these our 'Divine Constitutions' concerning every ecclesiastical form; there being present with us Paul the chosen vessel, our fellow-apostle, and James the bishop," etc. Again, "Now, this we all in common proclaim," etc. But sometimes one of the number speaks individually, thus: "I Peter," or "I Andrew," "say"; "I who was beloved by the Lord," "I Philip," or "I Bartholomew," "make this Constitution." And so of the rest, each in turn speaking in his proper person. No one now, however, thinks of attributing the work either to the Apostles or to the Roman Clement. It is universally admitted to be

spurious; and so far as the form is concerned, is, in truth, a very bungling forgery. It was written after the hierarchical principle began to develop itself, and had made some progress in the Church; and treats largely of ecclesiastical discipline, forms, and observances; not omitting, however, duties of practical morality. The first book, which is exceedingly brief, is "Concerning the Laity"; the second, "Concerning Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons"; the third, "Concerning Widows"; the subject of the fourth is "Orphans"; of the fifth, "Martyrs"; of the sixth, "Schisms"; the seventh is "Concerning Deportment and the Eucharist, and Initiation into Christ"; the eighth is "Concerning Gifts and Ordinations and Ecclesiastical Canons," and contains, as well as the seventh, various prayers and liturgical services.

Rejecting the claim of the "Constitutions" to an apostolic origin, we may observe, that, in the absence of all direct historical testimony, their age is matter of conjecture, founded on the character of their contents, which, though it precludes a very early date, leaves room for no inconsiderable latitude of opinion as to the precise period of their composition, if they were not, as is probable, the growth of different periods. It is impossible to say positively even in what century they assumed their present form. Several of the most eminent among the earlier Catholic writers of modern times — as Bellarmine, who takes notice of their rejection by the Trullan Council, A. D. 692; Baronius, Cardinal du Perron, Petavius (Petau), and others — have pronounced them spurious, though few of them have undertaken to decide when or by whom they were written. Petavius observes, that they are different from the "Constitutions" of Epiphanius. Tillemont says, that they were a fabrication of the sixth century. Others ascribe them to the third or fourth. Du Pin thinks them not the same work mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and conjectures that they "belong to the third, or rather the fourth century"; but that they were "from time to time corrected, altered, and augmented, according to the various customs of different ages and countries." Cotelerius expresses doubts whether they were known to Epiphanius; and, at all events, thinks them interpolated and corrupted.

The opinions of Protestants have been not less diverse as to the time of their composition. Blondel, without assigning his reasons, places them late in the second century. William Beveridge ascribes them to Clement of Alexandria, and not to Clement of Rome, first mentioned as the author by the Trullan Council above referred to. But Clement of Alexandria, if he wrote them, must have stood self-condemned; for the "Constitutions" do not allow the reading of Heathen authors, who constituted his favorite study, and with whom he probably was more familiar than any other man of his time. For other reasons, we may pronounce the opinion, that he was the author of the work, a very strange one, and wholly untenable. Pearson regards it as a compilation, with alterations and additions, made up, after the age of Epiphanius, from writings already in existence, some of them ancient. Grabe, in the main, agrees with Pearson. On the other hand, Whiston declares them to be the "most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament"; and says that their contents were derived immediately from the Saviour, during the forty days he passed with the Apostles, after his resurrection and first ascension;* and that the place of their delivery was Mount Zion, whence the "Christian law was to proceed." Le Clerc speaks of them as probably collected and enlarged at different times from the practice of the churches; though he seems to favor the opinion of Thomas Bruno, or Brown, a canon of Windsor, who makes the principal collector to be Leontius, an Arian bishop of the fourth century. Spanheim places the completion of the work at the end of the fifth century. Samuel Basnage considers them as different from the "Constitutions" of Epiphanius, and as originating at a subsequent period. Ittig and Usher refer their origin to the fourth century; and Daillé, who brought all his immense erudition to bear on the question of their genuineness, and denies that they were the same work quoted by Epiphanius, or the work or works referred to by Eusebius and Athanasius, contents himself with expressing the opinion, that they were written after the Council of Nice, and before the end of the fifth century, without attempting to be more definite.

* Whiston supposed that our Lord ascended immediately after his resurrection, and returned to instruct his Apostles during the forty days.

Recent German critics are no more satisfactory. Thus Schröckh ascribes the collection to the third or fourth century; Starck, who supposes it to be made up of various materials scattered here and there, makes it date from the fifth century; Neander thinks it grew up in the Oriental Church "out of different pieces, whose ages extend from the latter part of the second to the fifth century," being not identical with the "Constitutions" of Epiphanius; Schmidt assigns to it a later origin; Rosenmüller will not undertake to settle the time; Augusti, as usual with him, does not trouble himself about the precise date; while Kestner discovers a "Christian confederacy," at the head of which stood Clement of Rome, of which the old "Apostolical Constitutions" were a sort of "statute-book," in the place of which, the confederacy being dissolved in the time of Epiphanius, the new "Constitutions" were substituted.

Our readers will see by this time the little foundation there is for any positive opinion on the subject of the authorship and date of the "Constitutions." The "Canons" — of which eighty-five appear in our present collection, a smaller number in the older collections — are also of uncertain antiquity; though some of them, no doubt, describe the discipline and usages of the church at an early period, and are older than the "Constitutions."

The Arian complexion of the Constitutions generally has been frequently commented upon. On this point, however, we must discriminate. We will not undertake to say, that they distinctly affirm the creation of the Son out of nothing, or use other language exclusively Arian. But this, at least, we may say with truth, that they uniformly assert the supremacy of the Father, and the subordinate and derived nature of the Son. Their testimony on these points is not casual and isolated, thus pointing to interpolations by an Arian hand: it interpenetrates their whole language, and cannot be torn away without destroying their whole texture and fabric.

In parts of them the creation of the world seems to be ascribed directly to God; in other parts and more frequently, however, they represent the Son as his instrument in the creation. Thus: "Who by him didst make before all things the

Cherubim and the Seraphim, the æons and hosts, the powers and authorities, the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels; and after all these didst by him make this visible world and all things that are therein." This is from the eighth book, generally supposed to be of later origin than the rest.* Eternity proper is not ascribed to the Son, as the following language clearly testifies. Thus: "It is meet and right before all things to sing a hymn to thee, who art the true God, who art before all beings; . . . . who didst bring all things out of nothing into being through thine only-begotten Son, but didst before all ages, by thy will, thy power, and thy goodness, without any intermediate agent beget him, thy only-begotten Son, God the Word, the living Wisdom," etc. Thus he had an origin, God alone being unoriginate, the unbegotten God. To "suppose that Jesus Christ himself is the God over all," making him identical with the Father, the writer regards as impious.† Christ, we are told, "doeth nothing of himself, but doeth always those things which please the Father." ‡

Here are two distinct beings: one supreme, Infinite, "without beginning, independent, and without a master," the other, before the angels and æons, and God's instrument in making them, being subject to his will, but having a beginning though dating far back, before the ages, co-equality with God being expressly excluded. This is the doctrine of the Constitutions.

In the seventh book the old form of ascription at the conclusion of the prayers is retained, giving glory "to the Father, *through* the Son, and *in* the Holy Spirit," when the Spirit is mentioned at all; which furnishes an argument for the comparative antiquity of this portion of the Constitutions. In the eighth book, to which, as we have said, is ascribed a later origin, we still find the old doxology, but more generally glory is ascribed to the Father along with the Son and the Spirit. Thus the slow growth of the Trinity is visible.

Undoubtedly we meet in the volume many opinions and usages which prevailed during and before the days of Origen. But this is not inconsistent with the supposition, that it was composed, or the pieces contained in it were collected much later. With all the changes which were from time to time

* Lib. viii. c. 12. † Lib. vi. c. 26. ‡ Lib. ii. c. 26.

creeping into the Church, many of her principles and customs, especially those relating to worship and life, possessed a degree of permanency; remaining without alteration for considerable periods. Parts of the work undoubtedly belong to one period, and parts to another. There is no necessity of referring it to a single age or a single hand. It appears from its language to be an accumulation from different ages, or was made up of fragments belonging to different periods of the Church; but we find no trace of the Athanasian Trinity in any part of it.

CHAPTER II.

THE FATHERS AS EXPOSITORS. — CHANGE IN THE MEANING OF TERMS AND PHRASES. — LANGUAGE OF THE FATHERS. — EXAMPLES. — IN WHAT POINTS THE TRINITY OF THE FATHERS DIFFERED FROM THE MODERN. — TESTIMONY OF THE LEARNED. — PETAVIUS, HUET, PROF. STUART. — THE FATHERS TESTIFY AGAINST EACH OTHER. — COUNCILS. — THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

WITH the history of the Creed and "Constitutions" we have now done. But, in this connection, we cannot forbear alluding to the rank claimed for the Fathers of the first four centuries, from Irenæus down to John Chrysostom, as constituting the "best school for sacred scriptural interpretation." For, sincerely as we venerate the piety of these old writers, and the many noble traits of character they exhibited, worthy of all admiration; sensible as we are of the value of their writings as repositories of facts we could derive from no other source; and highly as we esteem their labors and sacrifices, by means of which Christianity triumphed over the polluted and debasing superstitions of Paganism, — we had supposed that the time had gone by when their expositions of Christian truth and the Christian records would be appealed to as entitled to any extraordinary respect.

Many of them were learned; but few of them knew how to apply their learning to any good purpose. With the exception of Origen and Jerome, they were not versed in the original language of the Old Testament, but relied on the faulty version of the Seventy, to which they attributed a sort of inspiration. Of the Arabic, the Syriac, and other languages (having an affinity, greater or less, with the Hebrew, or useful in unlocking sources of information tending to throw light on Jewish records and opinions), they were ignorant. The theology of most of them exhibited a strange and unnatural union of Christian doctrines with the philosophy taught in the Platonic schools of Alexandria, the most worthless that ever tasked the

speculative intellect;* and they were, almost without exception, addicted to the fanciful modes of interpretation, and particularly the allegorizing spirit, which characterized the same schools. There is no species of absurdity, in interpretation, reasoning, faith, or opinion, of which their writings do not furnish abundant examples. But we are not about to discuss the merits of the Fathers. We consider the question touching their claims to respect, so far as the point under consideration is concerned, as already fully settled in the several learned treatises which have at different times appeared on the subject.

A topic of some importance, connected with reverence for the Fathers as interpreters and guides, is the meaning of terms. Much misapprehension and error, relating to the tenor and spirit of the writings of Christian antiquity, have come from inattention to the fact, that the force and signification of terms and phrases perpetually change with time. The meaning of language is in a state of continual mutation, while the written letter remains unaltered. Words, it is well known, are often retained long after the ideas originally conveyed by them have disappeared or have become essentially modified. This is especially the case, when the subject, about which they are employed, is attended with any intrinsic obscurity.

The consequences of not attending to this fact are obvious. Terms and expressions occur in an ancient writing, which, according to their modern and obvious use with which habit has rendered us familiar, suggest to our minds certain ideas, or awaken a particular train of associations. Now, if we take it for granted that these terms and expressions were connected in the mind of the author of the writing with the same ideas and associations (that is, that they were used by him in their present and acquired sense), we shall be liable, it is evident, perpetually to mistake his meaning. To take a comparatively modern instance: the English word "worship," at the time our present version of the Bible was made, was used to express not only divine homage, but civil respect. This latter meaning is nearly or quite obsolete. But the word bears this

* Worthless as a whole, though portions of it are elevated and surpassingly beautiful; as any one may discover who will look into Plotinus and writers of that stamp.

sense several times in our English Bibles, and frequently in writings of the period to which the translation belongs, and those of earlier date. It is easy to see into what blunders a careless reader, or one acquainted only with the signification of the term as now generally used, and not suspecting it of ever bearing any other, who should sit down to read those writings, would fall, in consequence of this ambiguity of the term.

This is not the only circumstance which has been the occasion of important misapprehensions of the language of the Fathers. Their writings are attended with peculiar obscurity in consequence of the intellectual habits and prevailing philosophical systems of the period at which they were produced. To ascertain an author's meaning with any tolerable exactness, it is often necessary to know something of the modes of thinking and feeling peculiar to his age. If he wrote on theological subjects, it is important to become acquainted with the theological and philosophical opinions of his times, or those which were current in the schools in which he was educated, and among the class of writers whose works constituted his favorite reading.

Now, as the early Fathers, generally, were educated in the schools of the later Platonists, or were strongly tinctured with the opinions of those schools, and borrowed from them several terms, some of which they employed to express the most subtile and obscure ideas which entered into their theology, some acquaintance with the philosophy of the Alexandrian Platonists, as well as with Jewish literature and opinions, becomes absolutely necessary to a correct interpretation of their language. We do not say that this is the only sort of learning necessary to a right understanding of the Fathers: but this is indispensable; and, without it, all other is unavailing.

Several expressions in use among Trinitarians of the present day occur in the writings of the Fathers of the second, third, and fourth centuries. Modern writers, as it frequently happens, assume that these expressions were used by them in their modern sense. If they will look a little deeper into Christian antiquity, they will find ample evidence that they were employed by the Fathers in a sense widely different from their present.

Take the terms "one," or the "same." Nothing is susceptible of clearer proof, than that the Fathers, when they speak of the Son as of one or the same nature with God, refer, not to a numerical, but only to a specific sameness. All they meant was, that the Son partook of one and the same specific nature with the Father, — that is, a divine; just as two individuals of our race partake of one and the same specific nature, — that is, a human; divine begetting divine, as human begets human. They never regarded them as constituting numerically one being. Modern Trinitarians use the term as referring to a numerical identity. Of this the Fathers never dreamed. They found no difficulty in calling the Son "God"; for, according to the prevailing views of the age, the term did not necessarily imply self-existence. The Son was God, as they explained it, in virtue of his birth, his derivation from the Father; the divine nature being transmitted. So Justin Martyr, speaking of the Son, says, "Who, since he is the first-begotten Logos of God, is God."

Another term employed in connection with the Trinity, and the use of which tends to mislead, is *hypostasis*, understood by the moderns in the theological sense of *person* as distinguished from *substance*, but uniformly, by the old Fathers, in the sense of essence. Thus, when they call the Father and the Son two *hypostases*, they mean two in essence; that is, constituting two real beings.

Again: the creed of Nice tells us that the Son is *consubstantial*, of the same substance with the Father. But this term was used by the Fathers, not in its modern sense, but in the old Platonic signification, to express, as we have said, specific sameness of nature, sameness of kind, similarity, likeness. The Son was of like nature with the Father, not numerically the same being. So the Fathers of Nice, as Eusebius in his letter to his people tells us, understood the term. So it was used by the Council of Chalcedon, if their language has any consistency; and so Athanasius himself, in his earlier writings, distinctly explains it, taking the examples of a man and a dog. One man, he tells us, is consubstantial with another, and so is one dog; but a dog and a man are not consubstantial.

The epithet "eternal," sometimes applied to the Son, was ambiguous; meaning, as the Fathers sometimes used it, simply *before the world was*, or having no reference to any specific time. Whenever, in speaking of the Son, they used it in its strict sense, it was in reference to a notion generally entertained by them, that the Son had, from all eternity, a sort of potential existence in the Father; that is, as an attribute;* his Logos, Reason, or Wisdom, which, by a voluntary act of the Father, was converted into a real being, and became his instrument in forming the world.

Writers do not discriminate. They go on the supposition, as we have said, that the language, which occurs in the writings of the Fathers, respecting the Father, Son, and Spirit, was uniformly employed by them in its modern and acquired signification.

The current language (not occasionally an "unguarded expression") of all the ante-Nicene Fathers, understood according to correct principles of interpretation, shows that they held the Son to be inferior to the Father, and a distinct being from him; and the Nicene Creed teaches no other doctrine.

The confident assertion now sometimes made by Trinitarians, that the early Fathers were sound on the subject of the Trinity, will not do. The Trinity of the Fathers differed from the modern doctrine in the following particulars. First, as regards the Father and Son, they asserted, in the first place, the real subordination and inferiority of the latter to the former in his whole nature. As a real person or individual being, they did not, in the second place, hold the proper eternity of the Son; though they believed, that as an attribute or property of the Father, which in their view he originally was, he had always subsisted, since there never was a time when the Father was without reason, wisdom, *logos*. In the third place, they did not admit that the Son was numerically the same being with the Father, but only of the same specific or common nature, — that is, divine; being not God himself,

* An attribute might be said to have a sort of *potential* self-subsistence or personality, which became *real* by a voluntary act of the Father converting it into a distinct self-conscious being.

but, by birth and derivation, *like* him, as a human being is like the parent, or of like nature with him; in this sense, consubstantial. In regard to the Spirit, the difference was still greater.

Of this disparity, admitted by learned Trinitarians, writers frequently take no notice. Yet, until it can be disproved, it is an abuse of language, a fallacy, a gross imposition, to affirm that the Fathers bear uniform testimony to the Trinity. To prove this, it is necessary to show, not merely that the expressions still current on the subject are found in the writings of the early Fathers, but that these expressions were used by them in the sense they now bear among approved Trinitarians; a task which has never yet been accomplished, and never will be.

They who affirm that the early Fathers were not believers in the Trinity, according to modern explanations of the doctrine, are sometimes charged with ignorance of Christian antiquity. But let us see how this matter stands. Will any one charge Petavius, author of the "Dogmata Theologica," with ignorance of Christian antiquity? Was Huet, Bishop of Avranches, and author of the "Origeniana," ignorant? Was Cudworth ignorant? Yet with these, and many others we could name, — good Trinitarians too, — the asserter of the orthodoxy of the Fathers, in the modern sense, will find himself directly at issue.

Petavius adduces a great mass of evidence to show that the most distinguished of the Fathers, before the Council of Nice, taught the inferiority of the Son to the Father, and of the Spirit to the Son.*

"Certainly," says Huet, "Tatian, and an older than Tatian, — Justin, — taught erroneous views of the Trinity." Theophilus of Antioch, he says, "falls under the same censure." With others it was still worse. "For," he continues, "things shameful and not to be endured were uttered by Tertullian and Lactantius, as also by Clement, Dionysius, and Pierius of

* See, particularly, *De Trinitate*, lib. i. cc. 3, 4, 5. Will any say, that Petavius, as a Catholic, was interested in depressing the ancient Fathers, as the Protestants made use of them in the Popish controversy? They must be aware that this is not to refute him.

Alexandria, and many others." When Bellarmine, he says still further, "defends Origen on the ground, that (his preceptor Clement, and his disciples Dionysius of Alexandria and Gregory Thaumaturgus, being sound and orthodox) we are authorized to infer that the same doctrine which he received from Clement he himself held and transmitted to his followers, he could have said nothing more injurious to the cause of Origen; for no one of the three held the Trinity in its purity and integrity. For Clement so distinguished between the substance of the Father and that of the Son as to make the latter inferior; and Dionysius said the Son was a creation (work) of the Father, and dissimilar to him; and spake unbecomingly of the Spirit, as we are told by Basil, who also censures Gregory Thaumaturgus for teaching plainly that the Son was created." "Finally," he says, "it is evident, that not indeed in the days of Basil, and even in times more recent, did the Catholics dare openly profess the divinity of the Spirit." *

We might multiply quotations of a similar import from modern Trinitarian writers, whom it will not do to charge with ignorance of Christian antiquity. The late Professor Stuart made some statements on the subject, which, coming from such a source, are worthy of notice. They occur in the articles on Schleiermacher, in the numbers of the "Biblical Repository and Quarterly Observer" for April and July, 1835. They are at variance with the professor's former statements relating to the opinions of the early Fathers. He thinks them more accurate, as they are the result of a more intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers. The views of the Nicene Fathers, he tells us, "if he understands them," do "really and effectually interfere with the true equality, in substance, power, and glory, of the three persons, or distinctions, in the Godhead." The Son and Spirit, he says, according to them, are derived beings; and derivation implies inferiority. "A derived God," he says, "cannot be a self-existent God." The *numerical* identity of the Father and Son, he affirms, was not a doctrine of the ancient Fathers. "Justin," he observes, "says in so many words that the Logos (Son) is

* Huet. *Orig.*, lib. ii. c. ii.; quæst. 2, § 10.

different from the Father, and *another in number*." In regard to the unity and distinction of the Father and Son, he says, the "zeal of Origen led him to a theory in no important respect better than that of Arius." "Such was the case, too, with Eusebius the historian"; and "Dionysius names the Son a *creation* and *work* of the Father." The Council of Nice, he says, according to Athanasius, "did not mean to assert the *numerical* unity of the Godhead"; and much more to the same purpose. The result is, that the Fathers generally, before and at the Council of Nice, asserted the Son to be inferior to the Father, and *numerically* a being different from him.

In regard to Origen, the great Alexandrian teacher, Professor Stuart says, "Son and Spirit, according to him, have their origin as *hypostases* in the free will of the Father: they are subordinate to him, though they are the exact reflection of his glory. The unity of the Godhead is a unity of will, a harmony of design and operation; not a numerical or substantial unity, against which he strongly protests. 'The Father,' says he, 'is the ground-cause or original source of all. Inferior to the Father is the Son, who operates merely on rational beings; for he is second to the Father. Still more inferior is the Holy Spirit, whose influence is limited to the Church. The power of the Father, then, is greater than the power of the Son and of the Spirit; the power of the Son is greater than that of the Holy Ghost; and, lastly, the power of the Holy Ghost is greater than that of all other beings.'"

So says Professor Stuart. He goes at large into an examination of the opinions of the ante-Nicene Fathers, and the views at which he arrives, expressed in his clear and strong style, fully sustain us in the statements made in the preceding pages. Men far inferior to Professor Stuart in vigor of intellect and patristic learning may hazard the assertion, that the ante-Nicene Fathers and the early Church generally were Trinitarian in the present sense of the term. It is a hardy assertion, opposed to evidence written, as with a sunbeam, on every page of Christian antiquity.

Several of the Fathers themselves roundly tax the more ancient Fathers with unsoundness on the subject of the Trin-

ity. Origen is sometimes referred to as a witness for the Trinity. We have seen what Huet and Professor Stuart thought of him. Jerome thought no better; for he accuses him of asserting that the Son was "not begotten, but made."* Basil the Great is quoted and extolled. But what was Basil's opinion of the ante-Nicene Fathers? What he says of Dionysius and Gregory Thaumaturgus — authorities sometimes used by Trinitarians — has been just quoted. Of Dionysius he says further, that he "sowed the seeds of the Anomœan [Arian] impiety; for he not only made a diversity of persons between the Father and the Son, but a difference of essence, taking away their consubstantiality." The same Basil admits that the old Fathers were "silent" on the question of the Spirit; and says, that they who acknowledged its divinity, in his day, were "condemned as introducing novel dogmas on the subject." Rufinus accuses Clement of Alexandria of calling the Son a "creature"; and Dionysius, he says, "in his zeal against Sabellianism, fell into Arianism."

Such (and we might add to the number) are some of the authorities among the Fathers. Were these Fathers "ignorant of Christian antiquity"? They were themselves ancient, "primitive," according to the standard of antiquity sometimes adopted. Have they, then, borne false witness of each other and of themselves? This supposition is hardly consistent with the title to exalted veneration so freely accorded to them.†

Let the appeal be made to councils. The second Council held at Antioch, A. D. 341, expressly declared against the Nicene faith; rejected the term "consubstantial"; and in favor of their own views, appealed to the testimony of antiquity.‡ The term was rejected also from the creed of the third Council of Sirmium, which, says Du Pin, is Arian, but which Hosius,

* *Epist.* 59, al. 94, ad Avitum.

† It is amusing to find one quoting Eusebius the historian as an undoubted Trinitarian, and quoting, too, from his letter to his people from Nice; which, if it is to be trusted (and it is confirmed in the main by the testimony of Athanasius), shows that neither Eusebius nor the council were Orthodox in the modern sense of the term. Eusebius was in no good repute for orthodoxy among the Fathers. "An Arian," says Athanasius; the "prince of Arians," exclaims Jerome; "an Arian, and worse than an Arian," adds Nicephorus.

‡ Soc., lib. ii. c. 10; Soz., lib. iii. c. 5.

long one of the pillars of the Nicene faith, in an evil hour, as the Orthodox will have it, signed. Still further, it was anathematized by the Council of Philippopolis; condemned by that of Antioch, holden soon after; by the fifth of Sirmium; by those of Seleucia and Ariminum (Rimini), and others. In regard to the Council of Ariminum, we are told, that, notwithstanding the efforts of the Arians, the "influence of the emperor, and the apprehension of banishment and persecution," the four hundred bishops assembled there "determined to adhere to the Nicene Confession, and solemnly republished it as the symbol of the Catholic faith." And yet, all this notwithstanding, it is quite certain that these bishops generally, before the council broke up, did recede from the determination, violate their constancy, and sign a creed of a very different import; being one recently drawn up at Sirmium, in opposition to the Nicene symbol. Du Pin says that "*all* the bishops signed"; and thus, says he, "ended this council, whose beginning was glorious; and end, deplorable." *

And yet the opponents of the Trinity are asked to "point out only one council which adopted their sentiments." That the Council of Rimini before its close, and others just named, and more we might mention, rejected the Athanasian Trinity, we want no better evidence than the fact, that they openly declared against the Nicene Creed, and uniformly condemned and rejected from their symbols the term "consubstantial," which had been from the first exceedingly obnoxious to the Arians, but which the Orthodox made the very watchword of their party. True, the Arians believed in a *sort* of Trinity; and so do we: but not a Trinity in Unity; nor did they. We believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and so did they: but we do not believe that these three are numerically one or equal; nor did they or any of the ante-Nicene Fathers. Though these Fathers held language respecting the Father and the Son of which the Arians disapproved, they stopped short, as we have before said, of the doctrine of the numerical identity of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.

* *Hist. of Eccles. Writers*, vol. ii. p. 264. To the time of the above-mentioned council, Jerome refers, when he says, "The whole world groaned to find itself Arian."

We challenge any one to produce a single writer of any note, during the first three ages, who held this doctrine in the modern sense.

We beg leave, however, to say, that we do not consider the Athanasian Creed as evidence of the faith of *primitive* antiquity, exactly. It is sometimes quoted as a genuine relic of antiquity, and as really a production of Athanasius himself. It is roundly asserted that it was "published at Rome, A. D. 340"! Of this there is not the least shadow of proof; the statements of Baronius, and some other Romish writers of the same stamp, being wholly unsupported. Neither Athanasius, nor any writer of his own or of the next century, ever alludes to it in any of their writings now extant. No mention of it occurs of a date prior to the sixth century, and some of the writings in which we find the earliest allusions to it are of doubtful genuineness. In regard to Athanasius, says Du Pin, "all the world agrees 't was none of his, but some authors that liv'd a long time after him. . . . 'T is certain that 't was compos'd after the Council of Chalcedon," A. D. 451.* "That which is called the Creed of Athanasius," says Bishop Tomline, "was certainly not written by that Father. . . . It was never heard of till the sixth century, above a hundred years after the death of Athanasius. . . . It cannot now be ascertained who was its real author: . . . it had never the sanction of any council."† It was "the composition," says Dr. Samuel Clarke, "of an uncertain obscure author, written (not certainly known whether) in Greek or Latin, in one of the darkest and most ignorant ages of the Church." ‡ Bishop Pearson does not find it referred to before about the year 600.§ Hagenbach assigns the seventh century as the time of its general adoption.‖ It has been ascribed to various authors; to Vigilius of Tapsus, in Africa, towards the close of the fifth century; to Vincentius a monk of Lerins, also in the fifth century; to a Gallican bishop of the sixth century; by Dr. Waterland to Hilary of Arles, in the fifth century; while

* *Hist. Eccles. Writers*, vol. ii. pp. 85, 86, ed. Lond., 1698.
† *Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. ii. p. 219.
‡ *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 447, ed. Lond., 1712.
§ *Exposition of the Creed*, art. v.
‖ *Text-Book*, etc., Second Period, § 97.

Gieseler supposes that it originated in Spain, whence it was carried into France. Dr. Stanley, in his history of the Eastern Church, speaks of the creed as a "hymn"—the "ancient hymn, 'Quicumque vult.'" He says, "the learned world is now aware that it is of French or Spanish origin." "I wish," says Archbishop Tillotson, "we were well rid of it."

HYMNOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HYMNOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH NOT TRINITARIAN. — SINGING AMONG THE EARLY CHRISTIANS. — FIRST REGULAR CHOIR. — FLAVIAN OF ANTIOCH. — AMBROSE. — GREGORY. — HYMNS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH LOST. — EARLIEST WRITERS OF HYMNS. — BARDESANES. — HARMONIUS. — EPHREM. — ATTEMPT OF PAUL OF SAMOSATA TO RESTORE THE OLD MUSIC AND HYMNS.

THE hymnology of the early Church was clearly not Trinitarian. But, before we proceed to the subject of hymns, we must say a few words on singing. Frequent notices of singing, as forming part of the worship of the ancient Christians, occur in the writings of the Fathers; but the manner of conducting it is wholly matter of conjecture and inference. It is certain there could have been little art or refinement in the old singing. That musical taste should have been much cultivated among the early believers, who had no temples or churches; who assembled for worship in private dwellings, and, in times of persecution, in caverns, on shipboard, and in whatever secure and sequestered place could be found, and often in the night, — would be an unnatural supposition.* No doubt, their

* The time of the erection of the first Christian churches is unknown. From Minutius Felix, who wrote early in the third century, it appears that Christians in his time were reproached with having "neither temples nor altars nor images"; and they confessed the fact. At this time, therefore, Christian churches could not have been very common. Yet there is reason to believe that they began to be reared as early, at least, as the end of the second century. If we could credit the Chronicle of Edessa, a Christian church was destroyed in that place by an inundation, A. D. 202. This is the first of which we have any express mention. Tertullian, who wrote about the same period, seems to allude to places set apart for Christian worship (*De Idol.*, c. 7; *De Corona Mil.*, c. 3). Tillemont (*Hist. Eccles.*, t. iii. p. 120, ed. Brux. 1732) finds the first mention of them, as known to the Heathen, in the

music, like the rest of their worship, was simple and inartificial enough; but it did not the less stir the soul for this reason. The popular airs which become incorporated with the music of a people are always simple, and are the more affecting for being so. They are addressed to the feelings rather than to the intellect; and the feelings are always simple. In devotion, the heart leads; and it requires no intricate machinery to put it in motion. Reasoning may be cold and artificial; but the characteristics of devotion are warmth and simplicity: and, of these qualities, the ancient singing, we may suppose, like much of that which stirred the heart of Germany in the early days of the Reformation under Luther, and was again revived by Wesley and his coadjutors, largely partook. It touched the chord of devotion. There was in it the religious element; and to such music, we may add, — simple, earnest, devout; having some definite expression, some power of concentrating the thoughts and feelings, — the heart of man, as man, will be ever faithful.

The first regular choir of singers of which we have any distinct account is that of Antioch, some fifty years after the Council of Nice. Flavian and Diodorus were priests of Antioch, both monks. The latter was at the head of the monastic school in that place, and had Chrysostom for his pupil. The former became Bishop of Antioch in the year 380. Flavian generally has the credit of introducing the antiphonal or responsive singing into the church there, though Theodoret associates Diodorus with him. They were the first, Theodoret says, who "divided the choir, and taught them to sing the

time of Maximin, A. D. 235. During the persecution under him, Origen says, they were burned. It would seem that they began to be built in considerable numbers about the middle of the third century. Near its close, during the period which immediately preceded the persecution under Diocletian, A. D. 303, Christians long enjoyed a state of palmy prosperity; and then edifices for worship began to rise, marked by a splendor before unknown. "Christians," says Eusebius (lib. viii. c. 1), "were no longer content with the old edifices, but erected spacious churches, from the very foundation, throughout all the cities." The "old edifices" here spoken of, no doubt, were the first churches of the Christians; which, having stood fifty years or a little more, — about as long as the first humble edifices of worship erected in this country by our Puritan Fathers, — and being found dilapidated, or insufficient to accommodate the number of worshippers, or too mean to satisfy a growing taste for luxury and elegance, now yielded to more magnificent structures.

Psalms of David responsively. This custom," he adds, "which they thus originated in Antioch, spread everywhere, even to the very ends of the habitable world." *

The primitive mode of singing among Christians is supposed to have been congregational; the whole assembly (men, women, and children) uniting as with one voice. This mode was undoubtedly practised; and, being less artificial than the other, was probably the mode most in use among the early Christians. That the other mode did not originate with Flavian and Diodorus, however, is evident from the fact, that it was in use among the Jews. From them it passed into the Christian Church through the Jewish converts, and was probably never wholly laid aside. In fact, the expression employed by Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, at the beginning of the second century, shows that the hymns to which he refers were sung by alternate voices. It was the changes and improvements introduced by Flavian and Diodorus, who possessed a regular choir, which they had trained to the use of this mode, however, which brought it into notice, and contributed to give it currency in the Church.

The story of Socrates (that old Ignatius borrowed the idea of the alternate or responsive singing from a vision of angels which was accorded him, and thence introduced it into his church, from which "it was transmitted by tradition to all the other churches") would not be worth noticing, were it not that it gives intimation of what we have just said, — that this mode of singing did not originate with Flavian.† To this we may add, that Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was a disciple of Diodorus, says that he and Flavian only translated into Greek a service which had heretofore been performed in Syriac.

Ambrose, who became Bishop of Milan, A. D. 374, introduced the antiphonic or responsive singing into the West. He had it, as Augustine, his friend and admirer, says,‡ from the East; that is, from Antioch. He adopted it, says the same writer, for the relief and refreshment it would afford the people, who might thus be prevented from languishing and consuming away in a tedious sorrow. The Ambrosian chant owed its origin to him.

* *Hist.*, ii. 24. † *Hist.*, vi. 8.

‡ *Conf.*, lib. ix. cc. 6, 7. See also Paulinus's *Life of Ambrose.*

What improvements, if any, were introduced after the time of Ambrose, and before the period of Gregory the Great, or how the singing in the churches was conducted in the interval, history does not inform us; at least, we have been able to glean nothing worth relating on the subject.* Gregory the Great, the first pope of the name, was consecrated to the office of Supreme Pontiff, A. D. 590, after having in vain attempted to shun the honor; to effect which, he had caused himself to be conveyed out of the city in a basket, and had concealed himself in a cave. After his elevation, however, though, as it appears, of an infirm constitution, he devoted himself to the duties of his office with great assiduity. Among other enterprises, he undertook to reform the music of his church. "Ecclesiastical writers," observes Dr. Burney, "seem unanimous in allowing," that "he collected the musical fragments of such ancient hymns and psalms as the first Fathers of the Church had approved and recommended to the primitive Christians; and that he selected, methodized, and arranged them in the order which was long continued at Rome, and soon adopted by the chief part of the Western Church." † We suppose he took whatever had been in use among Christians of former ages, which appeared suited to his purpose, without probably troubling himself to inquire by whose authority it had been introduced. He also reformed the chant, which, since the time of Ambrose, had undergone very little alteration; and introduced what has since been known as the Gregorian, or plain chant. He was opposed to the lively airs of the Pagan music, which had come into the Church along with the lyric hymns; and attempted to substitute something more grave in its place. Undoubtedly he laid the foundation for an improved style; and

* The manner of conducting the singing appears to have varied in different churches, and was sometimes made occasion of controversy. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia the latter part of the fourth century, was accused of innovating by causing the prayers of the Church to be sung. He said, in reply, that he only adhered to the ancient custom of the Church, which prevailed in Egypt, Libya, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria. In regard to the prayers, it would not seem, from his own account, that he had the whole sung; but he mixed up the responsive singing with the prayers in a manner not accordant with the simplicity of the primitive worship.

† *History of Music*, vol. ii. p. 15. See also Maimbourg's account, quoted by Sir John Hawkins, *History of Music*, b. iii. c. 8; and Bayle, art. "Gregory."

deserves to be considered as a benefactor to sacred music, however barbarous some of his changes may have been pronounced at the time or since. If he simplified the music of the Church in some respects, however, in others he was accused of encumbering it. Some of his friends were disgusted with the new forms he adopted, particularly his imitation of the customs of the church of Constantinople. They disliked exceedingly his frequent introduction of "hallelujahs," with various ascriptions, invocations, and phrases, to which their ears had been heretofore unaccustomed; the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and other innovations, as they termed them. In favor of most of his changes, he contrived to allege some pretence of antiquity, particularly the repetition of "hallelujahs," which, he says, Jerome took from the church of Jerusalem, and brought to Rome in the time of Pope Damasus, in the fourth century.

It is asserted on the authority of John, a deacon of Rome, who wrote his Life, that the original Antiphonarium, or Choral Book, of Gregory, was in existence in his time, near three hundred years after Gregory's death; as also the bed on which the old invalid pope lay, and the whip "wherewith he threatened the young clerks and the singing-boys, when they were out, or failed in the notes": for he instituted a school for the education of his choir, and, it seems, did not consider it as derogating from the dignity of his office to superintend it in person.

But what account is to be given of the old hymns and their writers? The hymns of the ancient Church, properly so called, have not been preserved. We sometimes hear of the hymns of the "primitive Church"; but no such hymns are now known to be extant. The term "primitive," as applied to hymns, is as inappropriate as when applied to the Apostles' Creed. The psalmody of the Old Testament, or compositions founded upon it, were used; for which the songs of Zacharias, Mary, and Simeon, as preserved in Luke's Gospel, furnished a precedent. Some sublime and lyric expressions from the New Testament might very naturally enter into these compositions. In addition to these, the old believers had what were called "Hymns of the Brethren," because composed by them; but these latter have long since perished. We find no mention of any writer

of hymns, by name, till near the expiration of the second century from the birth of Christ; and have no remains of the hymns, strictly so called, used during that period; nor do we know anything of their nature, except what Pliny, referring to his own time, tells us, in his well-known letter to Trajan,— that they were sung in honor of Christ. Origen, too, says that Christians were accustomed to sing hymns to God and to his only Son, as the Pagans to the sun, moon, and stars; and others have expressed themselves in similar general terms. The author of a work against the heresy of Artemon, quoted by Eusebius, though his name was unknown to the historian, appeals to the "Psalms and Hymns of the Brethren, written, at the beginning, by the faithful," and "setting forth the praises of Christ, the Word of God, ascribing divinity to him (θεολογοῦντες)," * but not the highest divinity. This the word or phrase does not imply; nor does the belief of Christians of the time and their usages of speech justify such an interpretation of it.† The work just referred to is now attributed to Hippolytus. The writers of the hymns, however, are not named by him; and no fragment of the hymns is left us.

The statements above given, relating to the loss of the hymns, properly so called, of the primitive Church, are confirmed by the researches of the learned Bunsen, the results of which have been recently published. He gives three specimens of what he calls "genuine relics of ancient congregational or domestic hymnology."

> "Glory be to God on high;
> And on earth, peace," &c.,—

is one of them; called by Bunsen "the Hymn of Thanksgiving, or the Morning Hymn of the Early Church"; the same, he thinks, alluded to by Pliny. It is lyric in its structure, though without any trace of metre. Bunsen gives it in what he considers its ancient form, which is much briefer and simpler than its present. The time of its composition is unknown, though Bunsen places it in its simpler form among the ante-

* Euseb. *Hist.*, v. 28.

† Pliny's phrase (quasi Deo) is sometimes rendered, "as to God." This is unauthorized. The Latin does not imply so much; nor would a Roman have so understood it. The Earl of Orrery translates it correctly, "as to a God." — *Letters of Pliny the Younger*, x. 97, Lond. 1751.

Nicene documents. The other two are made up almost exclusively of verses from the Psalms; or, as Bunsen expresses it, are "a cento of verses and hemistichs of psalms." They are what are called morning and evening "Psalmodic Hymns," though the Apostolical Constitutions give the song of Simeon as an evening hymn. These, Bunsen says, "are all the authentic and genuine remains we possess of the ante-Nicene psalmody and hymnology of Christendom, as far as it adopted the Hebrew form." "But we have," he says, "at least, one composition of Hellenic source," sometimes called the "Hymn of the Kindling of the Lamp." This is old, no doubt; but the date of its composition cannot be assigned. Bunsen gives it as the "Evening Hymn of the Greek Christians." It begins, "Serene Light of holy glory." Such is the result of Bunsen's antiquarian researches on this subject.*

The earliest writers of hymns, whose names are preserved, belonged to the Syrian Church. The first of any note is Bardesanes, the heresiarch; a subtle, learned, and eloquent writer, near the end of the second century. He is said, on the authority of Ephrem the Syrian, to have written one hundred and fifty psalms or hymns, in elegant verse, in imitation of the Psalms of David; which contributed greatly to the diffusion of his errors. He corrupted the faith of the young in particular, says Ephrem, by the "sweetness and beauty of his verses." Harmonius, his son, inherited his father's genius for poetry; and, after his example, composed a great number of hymns and odes adapted to the lyre, by which he charmed the ears of the people. From these sources, the Syrians eagerly drank in the poison of heresy. Unfortunately, however, the hymns are lost; and we have no means, therefore, of ascertaining how far the praises bestowed on them were deserved.† The infusion of heresy they contained, it appears, caused them to be proscribed; and, no doubt, hastened their destruction. They must have been in use, however, among the Syrians, for a century, or a century and a half; for they retained their

* *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, vol. iii. pp. 86–89; *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. vii. See also *Hippolytus and his Age*, vol. ii. pp. 50–52, and 98–102.

† See Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 16; Beausobre, *Hist. de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, t. ii. p. 140; also *Bardesanes Gnosticus Syrorum Primus Hymnologus*, by Hahn, Lips. 1819.

popularity in the time of Ephrem the Syrian, above alluded to, who flourished about A. D. 370, and whose writings were in such esteem, says Jerome, that they were sometimes read in the churches after the Scriptures.

Ephrem wrote hymns and odes by thousands. He diligently studied the poetical productions of Bardesanes and Harmonius, who were his models, and whose sweetness he attempted to emulate, in the hope of inducing his countrymen to lay aside those pernicious compositions, and sing his own more orthodox lays.* Many of his hymns were, of necessity, of a controversial character. His design was to set the Eastern world right, on certain points of doctrine, in regard to which the above-named writers had led it astray. He succeeded in excluding their hymns, and causing his own to be substituted in their place. Their beauty was much vaunted by the Syrians; and they are said to be used in their churches to the present day. Multitudes of his hymns, or hymns attributed to him, on various incidents in our Saviour's history and life, his passion, resurrection, and ascension, on the dead, and in celebration of the martyrs, and on other subjects, are still preserved among his works. But whatever sweetness they possessed, or may possess, to the Syrian ear, modern lovers of poetry among us, we fear, will find in them few charms. Their sweetness, like some subtile perfume, seems to have evaporated with time.†

The connection of Ephrem with Bardesanes has led us to anticipate a little. Returning to the beginning of the third century, it is only necessary to mention a hymn printed with the writings of Clement of Alexandria, and by some attributed to him. It is of uncertain authorship, however; and is a hymn of a very ordinary character.‡ Beryllus, bishop of

* Soz., iii. 16; Theod., iv. 29. See also Asseman. *Biblioth. Orient.*, t. i. art. "Ephrem," who was called the Prophet of the Syrians, and Harp of the Holy Spirit.

† A selection of them has recently been published in Germany, with a glossary for the use of students, in Syriac, under the following title: "Chrestomathia Syriaca, sive S. Ephræmi Carmina Selecta. Ediderunt Notis criticis philologicis historicis et Glossario locupletissimo illustraverunt Augustus Hahn et Fr. Ludovicus Sieffert." Lipsiæ, 1825.

‡ See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.*, lib. v. c. 1. Fabricius gives two hymns, reported to be ancient, the authors of which are not known. We pass over two or three Syriac writers about the time of Bardesanes, or a little later, as not of sufficient importance to require notice.

Bostra in Arabia, was a writer of hymns. Passing by Hippolytus, who wrote odes on the Scriptures, which are lost, and Athenogenes the martyr, who is reported by Basil to have been the author of a hymn, which he delivered to the bystanders at the moment of his death, and which is also lost, we next come to Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, who flourished a little before the middle of the third century. Nepos wrote a treatise on the millennium; in reply to which, Dionysius of Alexandria, in a passage preserved by Eusebius,* and written after the death of Nepos, speaks of him with affection, and mentions, among his other merits, that he composed "much psalmody," with which many of the brethren continued to be delighted. The character of his productions, however, is matter of conjecture; no fragment of them having been preserved.

We come next to the famous Paul of Samosata. Of Paul we know little, except from the representations of his enemies, which are to be listened to with great distrust. That he enjoyed the friendship of Zenobia, the celebrated Queen of Palmyra, and found an unrelenting foe in Aurelian, the murderer of Longinus, is certainly no discredit to him. That he was too fond of pomp and display, and in other respects exhibited an inordinate vanity, is not to be doubted. To his many popular qualities and eminent gifts of intellect, he added the zeal of a reformer; which, after all, we suspect, was his great crime in the eye of the bishops, — an offence they could never forgive. He contended for what he regarded as the ancient simplicity of the doctrine of Christ. He undertook also to reform the psalmody of his church; abolishing the psalms and hymns then in use, as "recent, and the compositions of modern men." It is added, that, on a certain occasion, — the festival of Easter, — he "appointed women to sing psalms in his own commendation in the body of the church." But this, it must be recollected, is the charge of his enemies; and is to be taken, it may be presumed, with some grains of allowance. As none of the hymns alluded to remain, we cannot judge of their import for ourselves. It can hardly be supposed, however, that one, zealous, as was Paul, to restore the old doctrine and

* *Hist.*, vii. 24.

old music; who rejected the hymns in use in his church, on the ground that they were novel, and, as we may suppose, in his opinion, inculcated sentiments at variance with the ancient faith, — would be guilty of all the innovations and extravagance attributed to him.*

* See Letter of the Bishops, Euseb. *Hist.*, vii. 30.

CHAPTER II.

ARIUS AND OTHERS, WRITERS OF HYMNS. — THE "TE DEUM." — PRUDENTIUS. — THE POETICAL FATHERS. — NOCTURNAL STREET-SINGING AT CONSTANTINOPLE. — COUNCIL OF LAODICEA ATTEMPTS TO REGULATE CHURCH MUSIC. — SIMPLICITY OF THE ANCIENT DOXOLOGY. — NO TRACE OF THE TRINITY.

AMONG other hymnologists whose names have come down to us, though not belonging to a very early period of the Church, it is sufficient to mention Arius and his contemporary Juvencus, the hymns of both of whom have perished; and Hilary of Poictiers, who is said by Jerome to have written a "book" of hymns, which, however, has fared no better than the productions of his predecessors. Envious time has devoured all.

We must pause a moment over the name of Ambrose, who also wrote several hymns; among which Augustine mentions the "Deus Creator Omnium."* The others, which sometimes go under his name, and some of which are found in the Breviaries, are of uncertain authorship.†

* *Conf.*, lib. x. c. 12.

† The tradition which makes the "Te Deum Laudamus" the joint production of Ambrose and Augustine, first sung by them at the baptism of the latter by Ambrose, or which asserts (for such is one version of the story) that it was received by Augustine, while at the font, as the effect of sudden inspiration, has been long exploded. By common consent of critics, it is referred to a later age. Archbishop Usher states some reasons for ascribing it to Nicetius, Bishop of Treves, a hundred years after Augustine's death, or to another of the same name; though some fragments of old hymns may have entered into its composition. (*De Symbolis*, p. 8. See also Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, b. xiv. ch. ii. § 9; and Tentzel, referred to by Le Clerc; *Biblioth. Univ. et Hist.*, t. xxv. p. 57.) "Illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus, illic prophetarum exsultantium numerus, illic martyrum innumerabilis populus ob certaminis et passionis victoriam coronatus," etc., occurs in Cyprian, who wrote in the former part of the third century (*De Mortalitate*, ad fin.).

Augustine, though no poet, yet occasionally, it seems, tried his hand at writing hymns. He has one on the Donatist controversy. Gray, the poet, quotes some jingling lines of Augustine, in which rhyme occurs in the middle of the verse, to show that rhyming verses were known in the Church as early

We must add a few words on Prudentius, the best known and most esteemed of the earlier Christian poets. The extravagant praise bestowed on him by some of the old ecclesiastical writers, however, is only proof of the dearth of good poetry in the Church.

Prudentius was a Spaniard, born in 348. In his youth he applied himself to the study of eloquence. He afterwards became an advocate; and having passed through several offices of honor and trust, both civil and military, he finally renounced secular employments, and devoted his last days to the writing of verses, in which he sung the praises of Christ and the martyrs, and vigorously combated heretics and pagans. But either he was not born for a poet, or age had effectually extinguished his imagination and fire before he sought the society of the Muses. His productions, in truth, exhibit a very moderate share of poetic genius, and retain strong traces of the degenerate taste of the day. His versification is negligent, prosaic, and often harsh; he is not sufficiently attentive to quantity; and, in his general style, he gives evidence that he had not made the models of classical antiquity his study.

But, however inferior may be his merit as a poet, his productions contain frequent allusions to the opinions and usages of Christians of his time, which render them not without value as sources of history.

There have been several editions of his works. A beautiful edition, printed at Rome in 1788, in two quarto volumes, contains, besides his larger poems, twenty-six hymns, part of them designed for daily use, and part on the "Crowns of the Martyrs," especially those of his own nation. These hymns vary in length, from one hundred to eleven hundred verses. Though apparently not designed for church service, portions of them were from time to time introduced into the Breviaries, particularly the Spanish. They are written in different metres, partly lyric and partly heroic.

The humanity of the poet appears in some sentiments he has incidentally thrown out; as, that the number of the im-

as about A. D. 420. The most ancient instance of rhyming, however, he observes, after Sir William Temple, is that of the Emperor Adrian, A. D. 137. (Gray's *Works*, by Mathias, vol. ii. p. 31.) For some remarks on the early use of rhyme, see also Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, vol. i. p. 218, ed. New York, 1858.

pious who will be suffered finally to perish are few, and the damned find occasional respite from their pains, being allowed one holyday each year, or night rather, — that on which Christ left the region of Hades.* The sentiments of the Fathers touching the state of the dead, indeed, were, as it is well known, various. Even Augustine believed that souls in hell had, at times, some relaxation of their sufferings. Origen contrived, finally, to save even the Devil; and there is not an opinion so extravagant, that an advocate for it may not be found among the old Fathers of the Church.

At the close of the poem called "Hamartigenia," or "Birth of Sin," we find a somewhat singular prayer of Prudentius, which has given offence to some, as savoring of impiety. It certainly savors of modesty; but we see nothing impious in it. He prays, that, when he shall die, he may see no fierce and truculent Devil, terrible by his menacing looks and voice, who shall immure his soul in dark caverns till he shall exact to the uttermost farthing the debt due for the sins of his whole life. He aspires not to a seat among the happy. It is sufficient for him, he says, if he behold the face of no infernal demon, and the fires of insatiate Gehenna devour not his soul, plunged into its lowest furnaces. He consents, he says, since a corrupt nature requires it, that the dismal fires of Avernus shall receive him: only, says he, let their heat be moderated; let them not glow with too intense an ardor. Let others have their temples adorned with glorious crowns, and dwell in regions of purest light: only let it be my punishment to be gently burned.†

It does not appear whether Prudentius expected these fires to be temporary, or such as were afterwards known under the name of fires of purgatory; or whether what he meant to say was, that he should be satisfied to be moderately scorched through eternity. In either case, the prayer is a very humble one; though, as we said, we see no impiety in it. But, in truth, Prudentius, by his own confession, had, in his youth, led a very wicked life.‡

* It has puzzled commentators sadly to determine, whether the spirits here referred to are spirits of the damned, or those only in purgatory.

† *Hamart.*, ver. 931 et seqq.

‡ See *Procem. Operum*, in which he has given a short account of his life.

Prudentius had numerous imitators, whose names have long ago sunk into obscurity; if, indeed, they can be said ever to have emerged from it; and, in the destruction of their works, the world has probably sustained but trifling loss.*

An instance of the use of doctrinal hymns occurs about the time of Prudentius. The story is related by the two historians Socrates and Sozomen.† The Arians of Constantinople, then a powerful party, being deprived of their churches within the city, were in the habit, on solemn festivals and on the first and last days of the week, of meeting together about the public piazzas, and there singing their responsive hymns. They then took their way to their places of worship, which were without the walls of the city, so perambulating the streets, and passing the greater part of the night there, all the while chanting their Arian hymns, much to the annoyance of Orthodox ears, which could not endure to hear such expressions as the following: "Where are they who affirm that three are one power?" which frequently resounded through the nocturnal air. The annoyance was not all. The faithful, it was feared, might be drawn away by the seductions of heretical

* In the notice above taken of the writers of ancient hymns, we have mentioned most of the poetical Fathers, as they may be called. There are a few others, however, who may be entitled to notice. Lactantius, who died about the year 325, or between 325 and 330, is mentioned by Jerome as the author of some poems; and three or four attributed to him are still inserted in the volumes of his works. But they are, to say the least, of doubtful genuineness, and probably belong to some other writer or writers. They are short, and of little value. Fritzsche inserts them in his edition of the works of Lactantius, Leips. 1844, in his preface giving the authorities for and against their genuineness. (Gersdorf's *Biblioth. Patr. Lat.*, vol. xi.) In the same century, a little later, we have Apollinaris and his son, who, when the Emperor Julian (A. D. 362) prohibited Christians from reading the classical books of the ancients, undertook to furnish what were called Christian classics: the one translating the Pentateuch into heroic verse, in imitation of Homer, and forming the rest of the Old Testament into comedies, tragedies, and odes, in imitation of Pindar, Euripides, and Menander; and the other taking the New Testament, which he transformed, Gospels, Epistles, and all, into dialogues, after the manner of Plato. Damasus, too, Bishop of Rome, about the same time, was the author of some worthless verses. Gregory Nazianzen, who died A. D. 398, left a large number of poems, mostly the fruits of his old age. In one of them, he gives an account of his own life. Another is entitled "A Farewell to the Devil." Mrs. Jameson pronounces his poems "beautiful"; but how she is to be understood when she calls him the "earliest Christian poet on record," it is difficult to say.

† Soc., lib. vi. c. 8; Soz., lib. viii. c. 8.

music. Chrysostom, then Bishop of Constantinople, was alarmed; and not thinking it prudent, in so dangerous a crisis, to rely exclusively on the charms of his eloquence, he resolved to combat the heretics with their own weapons. He consequently instituted musical processions, attended with great pomp and show; his choir traversing the streets, shouting their homoousian hymns in the ear of night, preceded by persons bearing aloft silver crosses, surmounted by lighted waxen tapers, which the Golden-mouthed had invented, the Empress Eudoxia defraying the expense. The result was such as might have been anticipated. Discord ensued. The hostile parties came into collision, and an affray took place in the streets, during which several lives were lost, and the empress's eunuch, Briso, who had acted in the capacity of singing-master to the Orthodox choir, received a wound in his forehead. The emperor, incensed in consequence, prohibited the Arians from singing their hymns any more in public.

The subject of hymns and singing engaged occasionally the attention of councils. One instance of the kind we recollect, not far from the time at which the events just related occurred. We refer to the Council of Laodicea. This council, in its fifty-ninth canon, prohibits the use of private psalms in churches, as well as the reading of all uncanonical books of the Old and New Testament. Some irregularities and extravagances must have given rise to a regulation of this sort. It would be construing the canon too rigorously, we think, to suppose, with some, that it was intended to exclude the use of all psalms, except those taken from the Bible, and which were distinguished from private, as being derived from inspiration; for psalms or hymns, "written by the brethren," were in use, as we have seen, from the first. It was probably meant to exclude those only which had not received some public sanction; as that of the congregation, or perhaps of the bishops, whose power and prerogatives were now rapidly increasing. Of this we have evidence in the thirteenth canon of the same council, which ordains that the "choice of bishops shall not be left wholly to the people," — a regulation which clearly shows that the people had hitherto been accustomed to elect their bishops, as they had been, no doubt, to use their discretion in regard to the hymns. But this point we do not now discuss.

This liberty enjoyed by congregations or churches or choirs, or others who had control of the psalmody, it was thought, had been abused; and complaints were uttered that "ecclesiastical music had taken too artificial and theatrical a direction." "We find," says Neander, "the Egyptian abbot Pambo, in the fourth century, inveighing against the introduction of Heathen melodies into church psalmody; and the abbot Isidore of Pelusium complaining of the theatrical style of singing, particularly among the women, which, instead of exciting emotions of penitence, served rather to awaken sinful passions." Pambo, speaking of the too artificial church music of Alexandria, says, "The monks have not retired into the desert to sing beautiful melodies, and move hands and feet." Jerome, too, condemns the use of "theatrical songs and melodies" in the church.*

After this slight sketch, it will appear on how frail a foundation any collection purporting to give the hymns of the primitive Church must rest. There are not half a dozen hymns, we will venture to say, in existence, — certainly not in the Western Church, — which can be traced back to the time of the Council of Nice (A. D. 325), or to within about half a century of that time.† Some of the doxologies, or scraps of doxologies, and ascriptions, belong, as we have seen, to an earlier period; though their original form has not, in all instances, been retained.

The testimony afforded by the old doxologies to the simplicity of the ancient faith, especially to the supremacy of the Father and the distinct and subordinate nature of the Son, and to the Spirit as a ministration, we regard as of great weight. They are probably the primitive doxologies. Short, simple, incorporated with the general sentiment, and entering into

* *Hist. of the Christ. Relig. and Church*, vol. ii. p. 318.

† If we except the hymns of Ephrem, — the use of which has, we suppose, been confined wholly or chiefly to the Eastern Church, — we might add another century; at the expiration of which, or soon after, we find Prudentius. His hymns, as we have said, were not designed for church service, though parts of some of them found their way into the Breviaries. Most of the Roman hymns are of far more recent origin than the time of Prudentius, or even of Gregory; and few of them, it is presumed, can now be traced to their authors. There are said to be many inedited hymns deposited in the Vatican Library and in other places; but none of them, probably, are very ancient (see Hahn's *Chrestom. Syriaca*, before referred to, Pref., p. viii.).

almost every act of worship, the doxologies of Christians were little liable to change, and would naturally retain their original form, even after that form should begin to conflict with the doctrines and expositions embraced by speculative minds. In these doxologies, it is clear, is contained the old faith, — the primitive theology of the Church; and their language is as decidedly opposed to the Trinity as any language can be.

The hymnology of the ancient Church, so far as it is known to us, certainly furnishes no support to the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity. The testimony of Pliny, that the Christians of his day sang their morning hymn to Christ as to God, or a God, coming from one educated in a belief of Heathen mythology, is nothing to the point. The fragments of Hebrew psalmody or hymnology, given by Bunsen as ante-Nicene, the Trisagion, or "Thrice Holy," and other scriptural phraseology used in chants or ascriptions, are not Trinitarian. Flavian of Antioch, who has been already mentioned as introducing the responsive singing there at the end of the fourth century, further innovated by using as a doxology the words, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit"; language, before that time, wholly unknown. The oldest hymns extant contain no Trinitarian doxology. When such a doxology is found at the end of any of them, we know that this part of the hymn is comparatively modern; of which, examples enough might be given, were it worth while.

ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRINITY.

CHAPTER I.

REMAINS OF ANCIENT CHRISTIAN ART BEAR TESTIMONY TO THE LATE ORIGIN OF THE TRINITY. — THE FATHER: HOW REPRESENTED. — EARLIER AND LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SON.

FROM hymnology we turn to early Christian art; and we do not find the Trinity there. A very curious and interesting work — important, too, as contributing to a knowledge of Christian history and the ideas underlying it — was published a few years ago in Paris; from which may be gleaned valuable materials which illustrate the late origin of the doctrine of the Trinity.* The author, M. Didron, did not write for any doctrinal or theological purpose: he is exclusively artistic. But he is all the better for that as an authority in the present case, since he cannot be accused of being swayed by partiality, favor, prejudice, or antipathy. He thought not of the applications which might be made of his descriptions and statements. His work is that of a Trinitarian and a Catholic; yet those portions of it which relate to the earlier Christian art bear testimony which is clear enough — testimony which no cross-questioning can weaken or invalidate — against the Trinity as a doctrine of the ancient Church. In truth, the doctrine of the Trinity is no more found in the relics which are preserved of Christian art belonging to the Church's elder days, than in the literary remains of her great teachers. In art, the Trinity was eight or nine centuries in shaping itself into forms resembling those afterwards more fully developed. "There exists

* "Iconographie Chrétienne. Histoire de Dieu; par M. Didron, de la Bibliothèque Royale, Secrétaire du Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments." Paris, 1843; 4to, pp. 624.

no group of the Trinity really complete," says Didron, "in the catacombs, nor on the old sarcophagi. We frequently see Jesus, but either isolated, or, at most, accompanied by the dove, which designates the Holy Spirit. We perceive a hand (which must be that of God the Father) holding a crown over the head of the Son, but in the absence of the Holy Spirit. The cross and the lamb, which symbolize the Son, the hand, which reveals the Father, the dove, which sometimes represents the Spirit, are frequently painted in fresco or sculptured on marble. But these symbols are almost always isolated, very rarely united in the same place or on the same monument: they are rarely seen grouped or combined." * In a group — executed in mosaic, about the commencement, as it is said, of the fifth century, a voice (how indicated, we are not told) represents the Father; a lamb designates the Son; and a dove, the Holy Spirit. This, or a similar group, also appears in the sixth, eighth, and ninth centuries; but is rare. These are the first traces of the Trinity in art. But it is to be observed, that these symbols, including the hand extending the crown and the cross which sometimes appears along with the lamb, certainly prove not a co-equal Trinity. The hand reaching out the crown intimates the supremacy of the Father, and subordination in the Son. For the rest, — to say nothing of the lateness of the date, — all that we learn is, that the Father, the Son, and the Spirit were held in honor, as they are by all Christians. There is nothing at this period of art which shows that they were regarded as one or as equal, but the reverse.

There are no early artistic representations of the Father, — none before the twelfth century. The early artists put the Son in his place in scenes connected with Old Testament history, being restrained by reverence from an attempt to give an image of the Father. This harmonizes with what Justin Martyr and others say of the theophanies under the Jewish dispensation. As before intimated, when the Father is first introduced, only a hand, extended from heaven or from the clouds and indicating his presence, is visible. This is some-

* *Iconographie*, p. 558. The dove "sometimes represents the Spirit." "More frequently," it is added in a note, "the dove painted or sculptured in the catacombs is that which brings the olive-leaf to Noah, and not the dove of the Holy Spirit."

times rayed, and the fingers are open to express the divine favor dispensed upon earth; and sometimes it has the form of benediction, or holds out to the Son the triumphal crown. Sometimes the hand is neither rayed nor *nimbed;* a term we shall presently explain. In a Greek fresco of comparatively recent date, it is represented as elevating the souls of the just to heaven.

Thus far, the honor due to the Father, as the Supreme, Invisible, Eternal One, is preserved. His person does not appear. Art is reverential: it has not yet attempted to depict his features nor represent his form. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Father ceased to be represented exclusively by the hand. First appeared the face reposing on a cloud, then the bust, and lastly the whole figure. The face does not at first appear in the proper lineaments of the Father, but under the features of the Son. Before the expiration of the period just referred to, artists began to introduce some change into their representations. At the close of the fourteenth century, the Father gains in age on the Son, and has specific features: his figure, too, becomes more round and portly. At one period, the two appear as elder and younger brother: but finally the Father assumes the form of an old man; the Son, of a man in mature life; and the Holy Spirit of a youth. This was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; though still there was not an entire uniformity; the Son occasionally, as also the Spirit, taking the age of the Father.

Sometimes the Father appears with the imperial or kingly crown; frequently in the habit of the Pope, with the triple tiara, especially in Italy. The French disliked this, and added two crowns more, making five, one above the other, to indicate that the Father was superior to the Pope. Under the figure of the Pope, the Father became a decrepit old man. At the revival of letters and arts, degrading images were gradually banished; the Father assumed a more dignified and sublime form, — that of a serene old man, the "Ancient of Days." Finally he came, in the farther progress of ideas, to be represented by his name only (Jehovah), in Hebrew, inscribed in a triangle surrounded with a glory.

In proceeding to speak of the representations of the Son in works of Christian art, we will begin with an observation of Didron, that Christendom has not erected a single church specially to God the Father, but a large number to the Son, under the names of the Holy Saviour, the Holy Cross, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Resurrection. The Cathedral of Aix is dedicated to the Holy Saviour; that of Orleans, to the Holy Cross. The celebrated Church of Florence, where repose the ashes of Dante, Michael Angelo, Machiavel, and Galileo, bears the name of the Holy Cross. Churches of the Holy Sepulchre are common in France, and are found elsewhere. At Paris, there is one dedicated to the Infant Jesus. Didron further remarks, in this connection, that, when preachers name the Father or the Spirit, there is not the least movement on the part of the auditors; but, when the Son is named, you will see men bow the head, and the women cross themselves. It is a singular fact, he adds, that, while Newton never heard the name of God pronounced without taking off his hat, no one now thinks of uncovering his head on hearing this name; but, however little religion one has, he never hears the name of Christ uttered without showing marks of profound respect. In the Apostles' Creed, it is remarked that four words only relate to the Spirit, nine to the Father; while five entire propositions concern Jesus Christ, — much the larger part of the creed. Proofs might be multiplied, says Didron, to show that the Son has been more honored than the Father. We do not think that his reasoning is altogether sound, though a portion of his remarks are perfectly true. The fact that portraits of the Son existed earlier than portraits of the Father, does not, we should say, prove that the latter was less honored, but more; for it was their reverence for the Father, and dread of idolatry, which prevented Christians from exhibiting him under a human image. In the middle ages, however, there is certainly some ground for the charge, that the Son is exalted at the expense of the Father. When they appear together, the Son often occupies the post of honor; and, when their statues are used as ornaments of churches, the Father is thrust away in corners, or placed in situations exposed to the wind and rain, while a thousand tendernesses are lavished on the

Son: he has all the honors and all the triumph. Even the angels are often better provided for than the Father.

The earliest portraits of the Son represent him at full length, under a beautiful form, — that of a noble youth, without beard, of a winning figure, from fifteen to eighteen years of age, with long and abundant hair flowing in ringlets over his shoulders; sometimes adorned with a diadem or fillet on the forehead, as a young priest of the Pagan gods. This was long the cherished figure, affectionately caressed by art.

At what precise period portraits of the Saviour first appeared, it is impossible to say. The Gnostics, who were enemies of the Father, and proscribed his image, painted and sculptured the Son in all dimensions and forms; and it is maintained, that to them we owe the first portraits and statues of Jesus. Various traditions (entitled, however, to little respect) refer to Christ as having been represented by sculpture and painting from the very dawn of Christianity. The Letter ascribed to Lentulus — addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and professing to give a minute description of his person — is, without question, a forgery; and there is no reason for supposing that any authentic likeness of him was preserved. Augustine asserts, that, in his time, there was none. The earliest Fathers of the Church, conformably with a passage in Isaiah (liii. 2), believed him to have been of mean appearance. In the fourth century, however, he is represented as described above, — a youth of extraordinary beauty and majesty. It is remarked as a curious fact, that, in the series of monuments, in proportion as the person of Jesus advances in age, that of the Virgin — represented as old in the catacombs — grows young. Instead of forty or fifty, as at first represented, she becomes, at the end of the Gothic period (the fifteenth century), not more than fifteen or twenty. In the thirteenth century, they appear of the same age, — about thirty or thirty-five.

The earlier artists, as appears from the figures sculptured on sarcophagi or exhibited in fresco or on mosaics, sought to embody in the Son their ideal of perfect humanity in the form of a beautiful youth, as the Pagans represented Apollo, and Christians painted angels. A Roman sculpture of the fourth century represents him as seated in a curule chair, as a young

senator, in his robe and toga, without beard; the right hand extended and open, the left holding an open volume or roll. But this is something unusual. Down to the tenth century, Christ continues to be most frequently represented as a young man, without beard. There are, however, during the same period, many portraits of him, in tombs and catacombs and elsewhere, which present him as at the age of thirty, and bearded. The latter part of the tenth century, with the eleventh, formed the transition period. This was a period of terror and barbarism; a hard, iron age; an age of war and violence, which would hardly content itself with the old representations of Christ as a youthful God, who healed all infirmities, solaced all miseries, and smiled benignantly on all. The portraits of him now begin to assume a severe and inexorable aspect. The beautiful and affecting emblems and imagery suited to him in the character of the good Shepherd, so faithfully preserved in the earlier ages, disappear. In addition to the barbarism of the times, there was now a general expectation of the approaching end of the world and the final judgment; and Christ becomes the austere Judge. Some of the portraits of him are terrible. Milder features are still sometimes retained in places where gentler manners prevail; but these become more and more rare. The good Shepherd is now changed to the "King of tremendous majesty." He is now insensible to the prayers of his mother, who is placed on his right hand; and of the beloved disciple, and John the Baptist, his precursor, who occupy a position on his left; and sinners have nothing to hope. Artists selected the scene of the last judgment as their usual subject. In some Byzantine frescos, Christ appears seated on a throne surrounded by angels, who tremble at the maledictions he pours forth upon sinners. He is not only Judge, but he executes the sentence he pronounces. The words of condemnation have no sooner passed his lips, than a river of fire is seen issuing from the throne, and swallowing up the guilty.

In the earlier ages, Christ was frequently symbolized under the figure of a lamb. But the favorite representation of him in primitive Christian art was in the form of the good Shepherd, frequently exhibited as bearing a lamb on his shoulders; some-

times standing with his crook, with his flock around him. The flute of Pan is also sometimes put into his hand. These representations are illustrated by engravings by Didron, and by Dr. Maitland in his "Church in the Catacombs." It is worthy of remark that no marks of suffering appear in any of the earlier representations of the Saviour. The views presented by Didron on this subject are confirmed by Dr. Maitland, who says, "In all the [early] pictures and sculptures of our Lord's history, no reference is ever found to his sufferings or death." Again, "No gloomy subjects occur in the cycle of early Christian art." * The exceptions are only apparent. On this subject Mr. Charles E. Norton, in an admirable series of papers on the "Catacombs of Rome" inserted in the "Atlantic Monthly" for 1858, thus expresses himself, giving the results of his own observations in the catacombs, museums, etc., during a somewhat protracted residence at Rome: "It is a noteworthy and affecting circumstance, that, among the immense number of the pictures in the catacombs, which may be ascribed to the first three centuries, scarcely one has been found of a painful or sad character. The sufferings of the Saviour, his passion and his death, and the martyrdom of the Saints, had not become, as in after-days, the main subjects of religious art in Italy. On the contrary, all the early paintings are distinguished by the cheerful and truthful nature of the impressions they were intended to convey."

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries exhibit Christs of remarkable sadness. The *Ecce homo*, — "Behold the man," — crucifixes, descents from the cross, Christs in the tomb, are now the reigning mode. The progression is singular. In more primitive monuments, we see the cross, but not the Crucified. Some crucifixes appear in the tenth century; one earlier: but the Crucified retains his winning and benevolent features, and is clothed in a comely robe, which leaves only the extremities visible. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the robe is shortened and contracted, and the sleeves disappear, leaving only a sort of tunic. This becomes as short as possible in the thirteenth century; and, in the fourteenth, all that remains is a piece round the loins, as it now continues in the

* Pp. 259, 263.

representations of Christ on the cross. At the same time, the countenance bears more and more the marks of physical suffering. The contrast between these later portraits and the earlier Christs — represented as triumphant and clothed with beauty, and having an expression of ineffable sweetness — is sufficiently striking, and marks the change which had come over theology; for art exhibited the reigning theological ideas. At the revival of art, Michael Angelo rescued Christ from the pitiable condition in which he had been placed by preceding artists, though his celebrated fresco (the Last Judgment, in the Sistine Chapel) is open to severe criticism. In this fresco, the Son is represented as an angry Judge, hurling the wicked down to hell. How different from the good Shepherd of the earlier days of Christian art!

In the attitude and accompaniments of the figures representing Christ in works of Christian art, there is every possible variety. He is now seen treading under foot the lion and the dragon, and now Death, which he holds chained; he now appears in the vestments of an archbishop, with the archiepiscopal crown on his head, and now riding triumphant among the angels on a white horse; now showing his wounds to the Father, and receiving his blessing; now in the form of a lamb with the nimbus and cross, and now of a lion; now as the good Shepherd, on the older monuments, and in a multitude of other characters and positions.

CHAPTER II.

THE GLORY, OR NIMBUS, IN SYMBOLIC ART. — NATURE OF THE GLORY. — FORMS OF THE NIMBUS AND THE CROSS. — SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NIMBUS. — REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. — LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRINITY. — NO EARLY RELIC RECOGNIZES A CO-EQUAL OR UNDIVIDED THREE.

THE *glory*, or *nimbus*, in itself, does not distinguish the Son from a multitude of other personages; and even the nimbus, with the cross traversing it, does not distinguish him from the Father and the Spirit. We must here explain a little; and, though the remarks we are about to introduce may appear to some to be a digression, they relate to a subject, some knowledge of which is necessary to a full comprehension of works of Christian art in past ages, and of copies or engravings of them frequently met with in books and elsewhere.

In the symbolic art, as it stands connected with Christian monuments, the *glory* occupies a conspicuous place. When it surrounds the head merely, it is called a *nimbus;** when it surrounds the whole body, an *aureole*. Both together constitute the glory in its completeness.

In familiar language, we speak of individuals as covered or environed with glory, when they have distinguished themselves by great actions, or sublime efforts of intellect. Alexander, the conqueror of Asia; Cæsar, the master of Europe; Aristotle and Plato, who ruled in the realms of mind; Homer and Virgil, whose works have fired all imaginations; Vincent de Paul, whose zeal inflamed all hearts; Phidias and Raphael, who produced chief works in sculpture and painting, — these, and a multitude of others, are described as surrounded with glory. This mode of speech has been always common. By a similar figure, we speak of the great suns of the Church, or suns in the world of intellect. To render this glory visible

* The figure is then said to be *nimbed*. The term, as we have seen, is sometimes applied to the hand.

to the eye, the artist, the sculptor, or painter, makes use of material light. So God, in the Old Testament, is described as surrounded by a visible glory, or shekinah; and he appeared to Moses in a flame of fire, in the burning bush.

Such, according to Didron, is the nature of the glory. Its material element or representative is fire or flame, radiating light or brightness. Thus the Hindoo divinities are represented as environed with luminous rays, as of fire; and so the devotees of Buddha appear in some books found in the Royal Library at Paris. By the Greeks, Romans, and Etruscans, the constellations represented under a human form are encircled with rays or luminous figures exactly similar to the nimbus and aureole of Christians. Among the modern Persians, the Arabs and Turks, the heads of sacred personages, representing the good or evil principle, are surmounted by a pyramid of flame. Appeals are made to numerous facts — historical, legendary, and poetic — to show that such was originally the nature of the glory: it was represented by the subtile, penetrating, powerful element of fire or flame. So the sun, among the ancients, was regarded as the visible symbol of God: and the Pharaohs of Egypt and other royal personages are called indiscriminately children of the sun, and children of God; and, by way of distinction, the rays of the sun were transferred to their heads in the form of the nimbus radiating light. This was the glory. Its use was coeval with the most ancient religions, as the primitive Hindoo monuments show. Its native country was the East; and it may be traced down through Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman times, till it finally passed into the Christian Church. This was not, however, till some centuries after Christ had ascended. During these early centuries, the Church was engaged in struggles and persecutions. It was laying and strengthening its foundations, not applying itself to the embellishments of art. When the time came, it laid Pagan antiquity under contribution to supply its needs. It borrowed its artistic and æsthetic forms from that. By the aid of lustral water, it transformed the Pagan basilica into a Christian church. This was, in some sort, matter of necessity. But the nimbus, or glory, which had adorned the heads of persecuting emperors and false gods, it

would not be in haste to adopt. This ornament is seldom found in the catacombs in fresco, or on sarcophagi. Not only the Apostles and Saints, but the Virgin, and Jesus Christ himself, are represented without any insignia of this kind. Before the sixth century, it is asserted that the nimbus does not appear in any authentic Christian monument. The seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries constitute the transition period between its entire absence and its constant presence; and it disappeared at the end of the sixteenth. The aureole, or figure surrounding the body, went through similar vicissitudes with the nimbus, but appeared later and disappeared earlier, and was of much more infrequent use.

We must add a few words on the form, application, and significance of the glory, comprehending both the nimbus and aureole, as used by Christians. The nimbus is generally circular, and in the form of a disk; the field of the disk sometimes disappearing, and only the circumference remaining in the form of a ring. Sometimes it is divided by concentric circles into two or three zones which admit of a great variety of ornament. To the end of the eleventh century, the disk was transparent; thence, to the fifteenth, it acquired thickness. It went through some other changes, a knowledge of which assists archæologists in ascertaining the age of manuscripts, and relics of works of art. We meet the nimbus also in the form of a square or a parallelogram, and occasionally, in later monuments, of a triangle; sometimes a double triangle, or two triangles intersecting each other, five points only being visible, the other being concealed behind the head. Didron gives a specimen of the single triangle, rayed, and surrounding the head of the Father, taken from a Greek fresco at Mount Athos, and belonging to the seventeenth century. This form, which is rare in the religious monuments of France, is frequent in Italy and Greece, commencing with the fifteenth century. The nimbus, or glory, is distinguished from the crown, to which it bears some analogy, in being placed vertically on the head, the crown horizontally. When applied to either of the persons of the Trinity, the circular nimbus is always, except occasionally from accident or from the ignorance of the artist, divided by four bars, crossing each other

at right angles in the centre, thus forming a Greek cross; the lower bar, however, disappearing behind the head.* It is sometimes rayed, and at other times not. In some cases, the rays appear without the circular line as their base: they are sometimes unequal, and sometimes equal, exhibiting the form of a star. The colors employed are various: they are blue, or azure; violet, red, yellow, and white; the yellow, or color of gold, being the most noble and expressive; gold, its type, being described as "light solidified." The color, as well as the form, of the glory, or nimbus, is often symbolical.

The application of the nimbus, or glory, among Christians, appears to have been governed by no very rigid laws. It

* Of the cross, there are four species, — the cross without a summit, represented by the letter T, which was the form of some of the ancient churches; the cross with the summit and one transverse bar; with two; and with three. The cross with four branches, or arms, which is the most common, is of two kinds, which again exhibit several varieties. The Greek cross is composed of four equal bars, placed at right angles, and capable of being inscribed in a circle. It is this, which is placed in the nimbus, or circle, which marks the divine personages. The Latin cross has the foot, or lower part of the shaft, longer than the upper part, and longer than the arms. It is represented by a man standing with his arms extended. This, of course, cannot be inscribed in a circle, but requires a parallelogram. On the difference, Didron remarks thus: "The Latin cross resembles the real cross of Jesus; and the Greek, an ideal one. So the Latins, greater materialists, have preferred the natural form: the Greeks, more spiritual, have idealized the reality, — have poetized and transfigured the cross of Calvary. Of a gibbet, the Greeks have made an ornament." Originally, the two types, or forms, were common to the Greek and Latin Churches; but afterwards one predominated in the East; and the other in the West: hence the names. Many of the Oriental churches have the form of the Greek cross. The form of the Latin has had the preference in the West, though neither form has been closely adhered to in sacred architecture. The cross of St. Andrew differs from the Greek cross in having its bars intersect each other obliquely, forming a figure resembling the letter X.

The cross is sometimes ornamented, and sometimes interlaced, so to speak; the monogram of the names of the Saviour — the Greek chi (X) and rho (P), the first two letters of the Greek word for Christ, and the iota (I), the initial of the Greek word for Jesus — being united with the Greek or Roman cross, or cross of St. Andrew. These are sometimes enclosed in a circle or square, and sometimes not. The first and last letter of the Greek alphabet, the alpha and omega, are sometimes added; and sometimes branches of palm, indicative of victory. Some of these forms are very beautiful. They frequently appear on works of Christian art in the early ages, on sarcophagi, and in catacombs; on monuments of the dead, where they are far more appropriate than many of the emblems of Heathen origin which greet the eye in our modern cemeteries. We might add other particulars relating to the form, ornaments, and use of the cross; but we have already too far extended this note.

decorated the persons of the Trinity, represented singly or united; angels, prophets, the Virgin Mary, saints, and martyrs. It is occasionally assigned to the virtues personified, to allegorical beings, and to the powers and affections of the human soul; sometimes, but rarely, to the representatives of political power; to the forces of nature, the sun and moon, the winds, the four elements, the cardinal points, day and night (personified), and even the genius of evil, Satan.

Its significance varies with time and place. According to the ideas prevalent in the West, it is an attribute of holiness, — divinity or saintship, — as the crown is of royalty. It is somewhat different in the East. Among the Orientals, the nimbus was used to designate physical energy, as well as moral force; civil or political power, as well as religious authority. Thus, in a Turkish manuscript, in the Royal Library of Paris, Aureng-zebe wears the nimbus, or glory. In the West, with few exceptions, a king, emperor, or magistrate, never appears *nimbed*, unless canonized, or exalted to the rank of a saint.* The Pagan idea continued to prevail in the East; according to which, the glory was an attribute of power, not of holiness. The Oriental Christians, indeed, were exceedingly prodigal in the use of the glory. While those of the West reserved it chiefly for God and the saints, restraining it to qualities of the soul, rarely extending it to physical properties or mere intellectual energy, or force used for evil, it is not uncommon in the East to see it applied to any individual in any way distinguished; to a virtuous man and a criminal, to archangel and devil; to whatever, in fact, was famous or put forth mighty energy, whether for good or for evil.†

* It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that the absence or presence of the nimbus does not deny or express saintship after the commencement of the fourteenth century. After this period, it loses its importance, and is given or withholden somewhat arbitrarily.

† In illustration of the profuse use of the glory among the Greek Christians, a Greek Psalter is mentioned, deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, adorned with numerous curious and very beautiful miniatures, in which the nimbus appears on a great multitude of heads belonging to personages real and allegorical, good and bad. Among the allegorical personages which serve to explain the history are Wisdom and Prophecy, standing at the side of David as two great genii, habited in female attire: in his penitence, he is assisted by the genius of Repentance; in slaying the lion, by the genius of Force. So Night looks down upon the calamity of Pharaoh as his host is

But we must return to what constitutes more properly our present subject, and proceed to say a few words of the artistic representations of the Holy Spirit. The Father, says Didron, is the God of power; the Son, the God of love; and the Spirit, the God of love, in theology, but God of intelligence, in history, — distinctions of some importance in their relation to Christian works of art. By Scripture, legend, and history; by works of art in France, Germany, Italy, and Greece, — Didron affirms that it may be proved that the Spirit is the God of reason; that is, addresses, directs, and enlightens the reason; and thus it is represented as holding a book.

Monuments, as churches and convents, dedicated to the Spirit, are fewer than those dedicated to the Son, but more than those appropriated to the Father. A similar remark may be made of artistic representations of it. These are various in form, but are not characterized chronologically, like the representations of the Father and Son. The artist, in portraying the Spirit, seems to have consulted chiefly the taste of his country or his own fancy. As a general remark, we may observe, that, down to the eleventh century, the Spirit was usually represented by the dove; then the honor was divided between the dove and the human form. But to this form no given age, or period of life, is assigned. Thus, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it appears of the age of thirty or forty years; while in subsequent centuries it appears

drowned in the Red Sea. All these allegorical personages are adorned with the nimbus, or glory, of various colors; as are prophets and kings also: and, of the latter, the worst as well as the best, — the suicidal Saul; and Pharaoh, the impious King of Egypt, at the moment when he is engulfed in the abyss; to the latter, a nimbus of gold being assigned. So, too, the monster Herod is represented with the nimbus on a mosaic, executed by a Greek artist; the scene portrayed being that of the massacre of the Innocents. In a small church at Athens, in which the Supper is painted in fresco, Judas wears the glory as well as the other Apostles; though the color is black, to designate his treachery. In an old Bible adorned with miniatures, belonging to the ninth or tenth century, Satan is twice represented in the presence of Job, — whom he is torturing, and over whose calamities he laughs, — encircled with the glory, or nimbus, such as a guardian or consoling angel would wear; and in an apocalyptic manuscript with miniatures, referred to the twelfth century, the dragon with seven heads combating Michael, the serpent with seven heads pursuing the woman into the wilderness, and the beast of the sea, wear a nimbus of green or yellow, like the saints of paradise. The manuscript appears to be of Byzantine origin.

of all ages from that of an infant of a few months to that of an old man of sixty. Whether in the form of a dove or a man, the Spirit usually has the nimbus, with the cross inscribed: but this emblem or ornament is sometimes omitted; and sometimes the Spirit itself has been forgotten by the artist in scenes in which its presence would seem to be particularly appropriate, as in representations of the Feast of Pentecost.

The three personages — the Father, Son, and Spirit — are often grouped in later works of Christian art, never in the earlier specimens; as the Trinity, in its complete form, was of late growth. There exists, as before said, no really complete group of the Trinity in the catacombs or on the ancient sarcophagi.* Between the ninth and twelfth centuries, a new element was introduced into the representations of the Trinity, or at least became more conspicuous than before. This was the anthropomorphitic. The ancient Christians, as we have seen, had carefully avoided presenting the Father under the human form, which would have seemed to them too much like bringing back Paganism. But that fear had now passed. The Father had taken a proper human figure, though that figure was borrowed from the Son; and the dove of the Spirit had, as before said, yielded its place, at times at least, to the form of a man. Artists now, therefore, began to depict the three persons as similar and equal, and all in the human form. In a manuscript of the twelfth century, the three appear of the same age, in the same posture, and having the same costume and expression; so that it is impossible to say which is the Father, and which the Son or the Spirit. In opposition to this complete anthropomorphism, which so essentially materialized and divided the Trinity, an attempt was made to present it under the most abstract form, and one which would save the Unity; and, for this purpose, geometry supplied the triangle. During the next, or Gothic period, as it is called, — that is,

* Mr. Norton, before quoted, says, "No attempt to represent the Trinity (an irreverence which did not become familiar till centuries later) exists in the catacombs; and no sign of the existence of the doctrine of the Trinity is to be met with in them, unless in works of a very late period." See also what he says of the "undoubted earlier inscriptions" in connection with "the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Church." — *Atlantic Monthly* for June and July, 1858.

from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, — a further advance was made. The persons heretofore represented as distinct, though sitting on the same throne, as in the manuscript just referred to, are united; the three bodies, forming one, having three heads. On the other side, the geometric illustrations were continued, and improved upon. Three circles were adopted, interwoven with each other, each circle containing one syllable of the word *Trinitas* (Trinity), and the central space formed by the intersecting circles, containing the word *Unitas* (Unity), — Trinity in Unity. The subtle genius of Dante occasionally adopted similar geometric illustrations. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries retained all the types, figures, and imagery used in former periods to represent the Trinity and exhibit its mystic glories. It was an age of syncretism. The anthropomorphitic Trinity is still continued, and exhibits some remarkable characteristics. Thus the three heads are not simply placed in juxtaposition, do not simply adhere, but are mingled and confounded, presenting three faces under one *cranium*. Beyond this, one would think, art could not go; and, in attempting some further improvements, it fell into the monstrous. Of this, some examples are adduced; which, from their grossness, we must be excused from describing. The Church was at length compelled to interfere: and, in 1628, Pope Urban VIII. prohibited the representation of the Trinity under the form of a man with three heads, or one head with three faces, and similar representations; and Benedict XIV. renewed the decree in 1745.

Works of Christian art are full of interest, not simply in their æsthetic relations, but in their relations to the general current of thought, and phases of opinion, on subjects connected with religion and theology in past ages. To the historian of religion and the Church, they afford material aid, and not less to the student of human nature and the human mind. The most valuable knowledge is often gleaned from sources where the superficial observer would least expect to find it. An important part of the history of a nation may be written from its popular songs: and a painting or sculpture on a sarcophagus, or in catacombs where repose the ashes of the buried past; an image cherished with religious homage, the object of

tenderness and devotion; ornaments of churches and manuscript illuminations, embodying the ideas of the age, — are all things full of significance to him who can read them aright.

We add simply, that on urns of the dead, on monuments, in the catacombs, among the relics of art belonging to the early ages, which time has spared, you nowhere find a recognition of the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity; that is, three in one, co-equal, self-existent, and eternal. Stones preach, but preach not the Trinity. The Lapidarian Gallery in the Vatican at Rome contains many simple and affectionate inscriptions, which speak of the rest of the soul, and its peace in Jesus; but neither there nor anywhere, on any ancient stone, rudely lettered, or on sculptured marble, do you meet the Trinity. Primitive antiquity bears no trace of it. It has not left behind a single fragment on which we read it.

FESTIVALS OF THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS.

CHAPTER I.

FESTIVALS OF THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS DISCLOSE NO ELEMENT OF THE TRINITY. — WEEKLY FESTIVAL OF SUNDAY. — EASTER, THE OLDEST ANNUAL FESTIVAL. — OLD IDEAS OF LENT. — PENTECOST, OR WHITSUNDAY. — NO OTHER ANNUAL FESTIVAL KNOWN IN THE TIME OF ORIGEN. — EPIPHANY.

FROM hymnology and the remains of Christian art, the transition is not difficult to the festivals of the ancient Christians. In vain we look for the Trinity in these. Some of them claim, and rightly, to trace their origin back to a primitive antiquity. Their history has its use. The more ancient of them, certainly, may be regarded as so many monuments of the reality of the facts relating to Jesus' life, death, and resurrection, recorded in the Gospels. Of these festivals, some account will now be given in the order in which they arose. If Christmas was not among the earliest, that, as we shall see, was the natural result of circumstances, and of the Christian ideas which ruled of old; and its comparatively late origin need occasion us no serious regret. The resurrection, with subsequent events, particularly the effusion of the Spirit at Pentecost, it was, which gave to the birth of the child of Bethlehem its great significance; and we need not feel surprise that the former (the resurrection) was in ancient times more honored by observance than the nativity. It would have been strange had it been otherwise. How much is said of the resurrection and exaltation of Christ by the Apostles, in their speeches recorded in the Acts! His resurrection and exaltation very naturally gave origin to the earlier festivals.

But, before proceeding to speak of the annual festivals, we

must say a few words of the weekly festival of the primitive Christians, more especially as it was intimately connected with the oldest of the yearly festivals. This was the festival of Sunday, — the earliest of the Christian days of rejoicing.

It would seem that the disciples, from the first or during the apostolic times, were accustomed to meet for thanks and praise on the first day of the week. Certainly the oldest records in existence, after those of the New Testament, refer to this as a well-known and established custom. The first day of the week was universally distinguished from other days; and it was observed as a day of joy, a festival day, on account of the Lord's resurrection on that day, of which it was a standing monument: hence called the Lord's Day. That it was uniformly observed as a day of rejoicing, there is no dispute: on this point, all the old writers bear consenting testimony. We do not mean that it was a day devoted to sensuous pleasures. It was not; and King James's "Book of Sports" would have been as offensive to the early Christians as it was to the Puritans. It was not a day to be given to levity and amusement. But it was, to the original followers of Jesus, truly a day of gladness, — a day which brought with it not only holy and exalting, but, in the strictest sense, joyous recollections; since it restored him to their sight after his death had prostrated their hopes and filled their hearts with sorrow, and they believed that they should see him no more. And this feature the day retained. It was always, by the ancient Christians, associated with the resurrection, — the pledge of man's immortality.

On this day, everything which had the appearance of sorrow or gloom was banished as unfit. "On Sunday," says Tertullian, "we indulge joy." * So far did the ancient Christians carry their views or their scruples on this point, that they regarded it as a sin to fast, or even to kneel in prayer, on the Lord's Day, or during any part of the interval of fifty days between the resurrection and the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost. For this we have the express assertion of Tertullian.† The Jewish sabbath was originally a festival: yet it came, in after-times, to be associated with many superstitious

* *Apol.*, c. 16. † *De Corona Mil.*, c. 3.

observances, which gave to it a somewhat grim aspect: and these the early Christians carefully avoided transferring to the first day of the week.* They would not call it the "sabbath" even. They never so call it, but either the Lord's Day, or else, in conformity with Roman usage, the day of the sun (Sunday), generally the latter, when addressing the Gentiles; and by one or the other of these designations was the day known, and not as the sabbath, till so recently as the end of the sixteenth century. The application of the term to Sunday originated with the Puritans, who introduced into its observance rigors before unknown. The old Christian writers, whenever they use the term "sabbath," uniformly mean Saturday. This, as well as Sunday, was, in Tertullian's time† (that is, down to A. D. 200, and still later), kept by Christians as a day of rejoicing; that only being excepted on which the Saviour lay in the tomb. Even the Montanists, rigorous as they were, did not, at this time, fast on these days. The custom of fasting on Saturdays first prevailed in the Western Church: though, as late as the time of Augustine (the end of the fourth century), this custom was not uniform; some observing the day as a fast, and others as a festival. But, in regard to Sunday, there was no difference of opinion or of usage among the early Christians. The day was uniformly observed with cheerfulness, yet always in a religious way, as Clement of Alexandria expresses it, by "banishing all evil thoughts and entertaining all good ones," and by meetings for thanks and worship. It was called the "chief"— as it were, the queen — of days; a day to be ever distinguished and honored, and the return of which was hailed with a liveliness of gratitude which the faith of those ages rendered easy.

Christians have not now the same associations connected

* Originally, labor did not cease on the first day of the week; but it seems to have been gradually discontinued as circumstances permitted. At what time cessation from it became general, if it became so before the time of Constantine, when it was enjoined by law, except in agricultural districts, where sowing and reaping, and tending the vine, were allowed, it is impossible to ascertain. The exception was agreeable to the old Roman notions of what it was right and lawful to do on festal days, and what, says Virgil, "no religion forbade."

† *De Jejuniis*, c. 15.

with the day; at least, not uniformly in the same degree. It is not regarded so exclusively as a day of joy on account of the Saviour's resurrection as in primitive times. It has lost, in part, its characteristic distinction; the feelings in regard to it have changed with time; and, to the ears of the descendants of the Puritans, it sounds somewhat strange, no doubt, to hear it spoken of as a festival, — the weekly festival of the Resurrection; or to be told that it was a day on which those who lived nearest the times of the Apostles regarded it as unbecoming or unlawful to indulge gloom, or to fast, or even to fall on the knees in devotion. Let us, however, guard against mistake. We should form a very erroneous conception of the ancient Sunday, if we associated with it the ideas which the term "festival" now probably suggests to many minds. The joy of the day was a pure, elevated, religious joy, utterly removed from all grossness and sensuality; it was a day of worship, though of cheerful worship; a day devoted, as it ever should be, to the alleviation of the burdens of humanity, and to the highest moral and spiritual uses. No day has done so much for man; and this day, and all its influences, the Christian world owes to Jesus. This day, which suspends so many tasks, — the "poor man's day," as it has been called; a day of which it may be said, that there is no condition of humanity so low that its benefits do not penetrate it; the influence of which reaches the humblest mind; which gives a truce to so many worldly thoughts, and compels man, as it were, to respect himself, and meditate on what concerns the great peace of his soul, — well did the ancient Christians call it the "Lord's Day"; and well did they, and well may we, rejoice in it, and ever thank God for it. But for the birth of the Son of Mary, it had not been. But for his resurrection, after he had worn the crown of thorns and borne the cross, it had not been.

The following is Bishop Kaye's statement: "From incidental notices scattered over Tertullian's works, we collect that Sunday, or the Lord's Day, was regarded by the primitive Christians as a day of rejoicing; and that to fast upon it was deemed unlawful. The word 'Sabbatum' is always used to designate, not the first, but the seventh, day of the week;

which appears in Tertullian's time to have been also kept as a day of rejoicing. . . . The Saturday before Easter Day was, however, an exception: that *was* observed as a fast." *

We come now to the yearly festivals of the old Christians. The oldest of these was, like the weekly festival, that of the Resurrection, now called Easter; originally the festival of the Passover, during which the Saviour suffered. This was celebrated from the first among the Jewish Christians; Christian ideas being ingrafted on the old Jewish ideas respecting it. No older festival appears among the Gentile Christians. The time when they began to observe it cannot be defined; but it was very early. The obligation of its observance, as that of the other annual festivals, was not, however, regarded by Christians of the early ages as resting on any precept or law of Christ or of his Apostles, but simply on propriety and usage. The "feast of Easter and the other festivals," says the historian Socrates,† were left to be "honored by the gratitude and benevolence" of Christians. As men naturally love festivals, which bring a release from toil, they would each, he observes, according to his own pleasure and in his own way, celebrate the memory of the Saviour's passion, no precept having been left on the subject. And so, he says, he found it. Christians differed as to the time of celebrating Easter, and still more as to the ceremonies connected with it; all which shows, he adds, that the observance of it was matter of usage simply, not of positive precept.

The festival of the Resurrection, or Passover, was introduced by preparatory fasting. Occasional fasts in times of distress or danger, it seems, were not uncommon.‡ Besides these, there were, as early as the time of Tertullian, the half-fasts (*stationes;* from a military word, originally signifying a place of watch), observed by many on Wednesdays and Fridays: the former day being that on which the Jews took counsel to destroy Jesus; and the latter, that of his crucifixion. These half or stationary fasts were entirely voluntary; being observed, or not, as each one chose: and they termi-

* *Ecclesiastical History, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian*, pp. 388, 389, 8d edit.

† *Hist.*, v. 22.

‡ Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 40; *De Jejuniis*, c. 18.

nated at three o'clock in the afternoon;* though the Montanists protracted them till evening, and sometimes longer. For this, however, they were censured by the common or catholic Christians. The only fixed fast which appears to have been considered as at all obligatory by antiquity and general usage was on Friday of Passion Week, as it has since been called, or the anniversary of the crucifixion (Good Friday). This was undoubtedly observed by the generality of Christians at a very early period,† and came at length to extend beyond the limits of a day; its duration varying among different Christians. Irenæus, one of the most ancient authorities on the subject, says that "some thought they ought to fast one day, some two, some more, and some computed forty hours";‡ that is, the forty hours during which the Saviour was supposed to have been a tenant of the tomb. These forty hours were gradually, in the process of time, extended to forty days, in imitation of the Saviour's fast of forty days in the wilderness. Hence came Lent; which, in its present form (embracing a period of forty days), cannot be traced back beyond the end of the sixth century. So late as the middle of the fifth century, Christians were no more agreed about the manner of keeping the fast than about the time; for nothing had, as yet, been settled. Some confined themselves wholly to vegetable food; some partook of fish; others added fowls, since they, according

* Tertullian, *De Jejuniis*, cc. 2, 10, 18, 14; *De Oratione*, c. 19. The reason assigned for terminating them at three o'clock was, that, at that hour, Peter and John (Acts iii. 1) went up into the temple (Tert. *De Jejun.*, c. 10).

† It was founded (Tert. *De Jejun.*, c. 2) on a misinterpretation of Matt. ix. 15: "The days will come, when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them; and then shall they fast in those days." This, the ancient Christians supposed, referred to the time during which Jesus lay in the tomb, and not to the time when he should be personally with them no more; that is, after his ascension: the true construction. They would then be exposed to danger and suffering, which would often enough cause them sadness of heart.

‡ Euseb. *Hist.*, lib. v. 24. In Socrates' day (middle of the fifth century) there was no greater agreement in regard to the fasts before Easter. The Romans, he says (lib. v. c. 22), fasted three weeks, excepting on Saturdays and Sundays; though, in another passage, he says they fasted every Saturday. In Illyricum, throughout all Achaia, and at Alexandria, a fast of six weeks before Easter was observed. Others fasted for a different period, all still calling the fast a "quadragesimal fast"; for which, he says, some assigned one reason, and some another, "according to their particular fancies and humors."

to Moses, came also from the waters (Gen. i. 20); some abstained from "all manner of fruit of trees; others fed on dry bread only, and some would not allow themselves even that." Other usages prevailed among others, for which, says Socrates, "innumerable reasons were assigned"; for there was no authority to which any one could appeal, the Apostles having left every one to his "own will and free choice in the case." There was the same variety, he adds, in regard to the performances in the religious assemblies of Christians. "In sum," says he, "in all places, and among all sects, you will scarcely find two churches exactly agreeing about their prayers." *

In speaking of the fast which preceded the festival of the Resurrection, and was so intimately connected with it that it is difficult to separate them, we have said all that is required of the fasts of the early Christians; and we shall not return to the subject. Nor need the festival itself much longer detain us. We should only weary our readers, were we to go minutely into the controversy, which for a time raged furiously between the Eastern and Western churches, about the proper time of keeping it.

The feast was a "movable" one, as it is called: and it was necessary, from year to year, to announce from astronomical calculations on what day of the month the first Sunday after the full moon, next succeeding the vernal equinox, would fall; and, as Alexandria was at that time the seat of the sciences, this office was generally discharged by the bishop of that place. There remained still, in different countries, a difference in the time of keeping the festival, this difference sometimes amounting to a whole month; and it was not before A. D. 800 that entire uniformity took place. The ancient Christian year began with Easter, and not with Advent. With the old Christians, indeed, the Resurrection was, we may almost say, all in all: on it the truth of Christianity, preaching, everything, rested. Christ rose, the Vanquisher of death and hell, the First-born from the dead, the Beginning of the new spiritual creation. As it was at the material creation, so now: light came out of darkness; from night all things came. The festival was called the "salutary" festival, the "kingly day," the

* *Hist.*, v. 22.

"day of victory," the "crown and head of all festivals." This was not, however, in the earliest times.

The ceremonies attending the observance of the festival in the second century were simple, compared with those which were afterwards introduced, partly from the natural love of pomp, and partly from imitation of the Heathen festivals, which Christians could with difficulty be prevented from frequenting, and from which many observances were from time to time transferred to the Christian festivals. Vigils, or night watches, on Easter Eve, soon began to be kept; and the people continued in the churches until midnight. Constantine, naturally vain, and fond of parade, signalized his love of display, and perhaps thought he did honor to religion, by celebrating them with extraordinary pomp. The custom had been introduced before his time, of lighting up a vast quantity of tapers in the churches on the eve of the festival. Not satisfied with this, the emperor ordered them to be lighted all over the city: and, further, — that the brilliancy of the night might rival, or even exceed, the splendor of day, — he had pillars of wax, of an immense height, erected; the effect of which, when lighted in the evening, is described as brilliant in the extreme.*

The next festival in the order of antiquity, observed, was Pentecost; that is, Whitsuntide, or Whitsunday as it is now called, — the day of the descent of the Spirit, fifty days after that of the resurrection; with which, as a festival, it was intimately connected; so intimately, indeed, that they may be said to have been united: or, rather, the whole interval between Easter and Pentecost was kept as a festival, in remembrance of Christ risen and glorified, — no fasting, as before said, being allowed during the period, and no kneeling in prayer; for this was a token, or attitude of humiliation inconsistent with the joy and gratitude becoming the season; joy naturally looking up to heaven with outspread hands.

These were the only two annual festivals known in the

* Euseb. *Vita Const.*, lib. iv. c. 22. According to Jerome (*Comm. in Matt.* xxv. 6) the Easter vigils were kept till midnight, in consequence of a tradition that Christ would come at that hour; as, on the night when the Passover was instituted, the Lord had visited Egypt at that hour. But, that once past, the people could with safety be dismissed. Lactantius (*Inst.*, lib. vii. c. 19) refers to the same tradition.

Church in primitive times and before the days of Origen: the one, commemorating the Resurrection; the other, the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, called the Holy Spirit's Day. The silence of Justin Martyr, an earlier Father, on the whole subject of annual festivals, is a remarkable fact, which should not be passed over without notice.* Tertullian speaks only of Easter — the Passover, he calls it — and Pentecost; though it is certain he would have mentioned others, had any been known to him. On one occasion, at least, he could not have avoided it. He is censuring Christians of his age for attending Pagan festivals, and attempting to dissuade them from it: and the very drift of his argument is, that Christians possess more festivals than the Heathens; that, if any indulgence or relaxation were required, they need not seek it at the Pagan festivals, for they had enough of their own. But his enumeration does not extend beyond those already specified.† Could he have adduced others, his position would have been so far strengthened; and Tertullian was not the man unnecessarily to yield any advantage in an argument. But, independently of this consideration, it is impossible, we should say, for any one to read Tertullian, and note his frequent allusions to Christian fasts and festivals by name, and believe that he would have omitted to notice other holidays, had they existed in his time.

Bishop Kaye, who had very carefully read the works of Tertullian, confirms the statement above made. He says, that, in the writings of this Father, "we find no notice of the celebration of our Lord's nativity, although the festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide are frequently mentioned: with reference to which it should be observed, that the word 'Pascha' was not used to signify merely the day of our Lord's resur-

* He wrote in the former part of the second century. Though he describes baptism at large, he does not mention any festivals with which it was connected. Nor does it appear, from the writings of Christian antiquity, when Easter and Pentecost first came to be considered as the most suitable seasons for the performance of the rite. The Oriental Christians baptized also at Epiphany.

† *De Idololatria*, c. 14. All the Heathen festivals, Tertullian says, would not amount to one Pentecost, or feast of fifty days. We may observe here, that this feast included whatever notice was taken of the Ascension, no distinct festival of which is mentioned by any early writer; nor does any such appear to have existed before some time in the fourth century.

rection, but also the day of his passion; or, rather, the whole interval of time from his crucifixion to his resurrection. In like manner, the word 'Pentecoste' signifies, not merely Whitsunday, but also the fifty days which intervened between Easter and Whitsunday." *

We have already alluded to Origen, who, in piety, genius, and learning, had no superior among the early Fathers. Origen wrote in the former part of the third century. He was well acquainted with the opinions and usages of Christians of his day; and, had any such festival as that of the Nativity existed in his time, he could not have been ignorant of the fact. Yet he does not mention it; though he expressly names the others of which we have spoken, and under circumstances which would render the absence of all allusion to this wholly inexplicable, had any such festival been then observed. In reply to an objection of Celsus, he speaks of the nature of festivals; and of such, in particular, as Christians might lawfully attend. He does not extravagantly exalt festivals. In common with Christians of his day, he makes purity of the affections, and a uniformly upright and holy life, the great distinguishing characteristic of the Christian. These were a perpetual offering. The perfect Christian, he says, does not need festivals; all his days are Lord's days; and, "passing over from the things of this life to God," he "celebrates a continual Passover, which means transition"; and being able to say with the Apostle, we are "risen with Christ, in the Spirit," he keeps an unbroken Pentecost. But the multitude require sensible objects, he says, to renew the memory of what would else pass away and be forgotten. He enumerates the Christian festivals in the following order: "Lord's days, the Passover and Pentecost." † No other festivals are alluded to here, or elsewhere in the four folio volumes of this eminent Father of the Church.

In the time of Origen, then, the only Christian festivals in existence — those of the martyrs excepted, of which we do not now speak — were Sunday, the Passover, and Pentecost; the preparatory fasts being included. The third, or next

* *Writings of Tertullian*, p. 889, 8d edit.
† *Contra Cels.*, lib. viii. § 22.

oldest festival, was that of the Baptism of the Saviour, called the festival of the Manifestation * (Epiphany), which was celebrated on the 6th of January, though some placed it on the 10th.

* Jesus's manifestation in the character of the Messiah at his baptism, the original meaning; and not "manifestation to the Gentiles" at the coming of the "wise men," a turn subsequently given it. The festival was probably of Jewish-Christian origin; though it is first traced among the followers of Basilides in Egypt, in the time of Clement. The Jewish Christians attached particular importance to the baptism of Jesus, by which he became the Son of God. "And, lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." This view also explains the fact, that the birth and baptism of Jesus were originally celebrated in one festival.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTMAS: FIRST CELEBRATED ON THE FIFTH OF JANUARY. — UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE TIME OF CHRIST'S BIRTH. — TESTIMONY OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. — CHRYSOSTOM'S TESTIMONY TO THE LATE ORIGIN OF THE FESTIVAL IN THE EAST. — DR. MILMAN'S STATEMENT. — ORDER OF THE CHRISTIAN FESTIVALS. — LATE ORIGIN OF CHRISTMAS EXPLAINED. — NO TRINITARIANISM IN EITHER OF THE OLD FESTIVALS.

WITH Epiphany celebrated on the 6th of January, as observed at the conclusion of the last chapter, was united the festival of the birth of Christ (Christmas), at the time we first hear of it; that is, in Egypt. The first traces of it are obscure in the extreme. Clement of Alexandria, a learned Father of the Church, whom nothing seemingly escaped, and who flourished at the beginning of the third century, does not expressly mention it. His testimony, however, is important, as showing the ignorance of Christians of that period, even the best informed of them, of the time of Christ's birth. Both the day and the year were involved in uncertainty; and Clement seems to speak with no little contempt of those who undertook to fix the former. "There are those," he says, "who, with an over-busy curiosity, attempt to fix, not only the year, but the day, of our Saviour's birth; who, they say, was born in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus, on the twenty-fifth of the month Pachon"; that is, the twentieth of May. He adds soon after, "Some say that he was born on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of the month Pharmuthi"; that is, the nineteenth or twentieth day of April;* both parties selecting the spring as the season of the nativity. And here Clement leaves the matter. The inference is plain. The day of the nativity was unknown. Whatever notice was taken of the event, was taken at the festival of the Baptism. A few, prying into the

* *Strom.*, lib. i. c. 21, pp. 407, 408, ed. Oxon. 1715. It has been inferred, however, from a statement made by Clement relating to the interval between the birth of Christ and the death of Commodus, that he himself supposed the day of the nativity to have been the 18th of November.

subject with vain solicitude, pretended to assign the day: but they differed; only agreeing that it was in April or May. In regard to the precise year of the Saviour's birth, our common or vulgar era, by the general consent of the learned, places it from three to five years (four is generally assigned) too late.

At the period when we discover the first trace of Christmas, it was thus celebrated on the 6th of January, having been superadded to the feast of the Baptism. About the middle of the fourth century, we hear of its celebration at Rome on the 25th of December; the day being determined, it is asserted, — though not on evidence which is perfectly conclusive, — by Julius, Bishop of Rome. This, we believe, is the earliest notice of it as a distinct festival; certainly the earliest which is clear and undisputed. It was soon after introduced into the East; where, according to the testimony of Chrysostom, who was Priest of Antioch, and afterwards Bishop of Constantinople, it was before unknown. "It is not yet ten years," says he, in his Homily on the Nativity,* about the year 386, "since this day was first made known to us. It had been before observed," he adds, "in the West; whence the knowledge of it was derived." It is clear, from this testimony, that the present time of celebrating the birth of the Saviour was a novelty in the East very late in the fourth century; and, from the manner in which Chrysostom expresses himself, the conclusion seems irresistible, that, before that time, there was no festival of the kind observed in the Syrian Church. He does not allude to any. He does not say that the question was about the day merely; as he naturally would have said, if it had been so. "Some affirmed," he says, "and others denied, that the festival was an old one, known from Thrace to Spain." "There was much disputing," he adds, "on the subject, and much opposition was encountered in the introduction of the festival." † This, it must be recollected, was in one of the chief cities in the East, near the end of the fourth century.

* *Opp.*, t. ii. pp. 417-432, ed. Par. 1838.

† On the subject of the use which has been made of Chrysostom's reasoning, and the fallacies involved in the argument employed to show that the real date of the Saviour's birth was known in his day, see a notice of Dr. Jarvis's "Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church," in the *Christian Examiner*, fourth series, vol. iii. pp. 412-414.

The Christians of Egypt, at a much later period, are found celebrating the nativity on the old 6th of January.*

Various reasons have been assigned for the selection of the 25th day of December by the Romans. It was clearly an innovation. The day had never been observed as a festival of the nativity by Christians of the East, where Christ had his birth. It is certain, however, that some of the most memorable of the Heathen festivals were celebrated at Rome at this season of the year; and these the Christians were fond of attending, and could be the more readily withdrawn from them if they had similar feasts of their own occurring at the same season. It is certain, too, that many of the ceremonies and observances of the Pagan festivals were transferred to those of Christians.† Whether this, and much else connected with the establishment of Christian festivals, happened by design or accident, is a point we shall not stop formally to discuss. It has been argued, that the winter solstice (the 25th of December in the Roman calendar) was chosen from a beautiful analogy, — the sun, which then begins to return to diffuse warmth and light over the material creation,‡ presenting a fit emblem of the rising of the Sun of Righteousness to cheer and bless the world by his beams. The festival of the birth of the Sun (*natalis Solis invicti*), — a figurative expression, denoting his turning at the tropic, — one of the most celebrated festivals among the Romans, observed at this period, had probably as much to do in determining the time of the Christian festival as the bare analogy alluded to;

* It is a circumstance worthy of note, that, while the festival of the Baptism extended itself from East to West, that of Christmas travelled from West to East. We have not overlooked the testimony of Augustine, at the end of the fourth century: but he is too late a writer to be an authority for any early tradition; and, though he mentions the festival of the Nativity, he does not ascribe to it the same importance as to the two older festivals of Easter and Whitsunday.

† Thus, during the Roman Saturnalia, or feast of Saturn, holden in memory of the golden age of equality and innocence under his reign, and kept in the time of the Cæsars from the 17th to the 23d of December (seven days), "all orders were devoted to mirth and feasting"; friends sent presents to each other; slaves enjoyed their liberty, and wore "caps as badges of freedom"; wax tapers were lighted in the temples; and jests and freedom, and all sorts of jollity, prevailed.

‡ In the Northern Hemisphere, where the date was adopted.

which, however, served well for rhetorical and poetic illustration. We find the Christian poet, Prudentius, soon after making use of it for this purpose. The fixing of the birth of the Saviour at the winter solstice, when the days begin to increase, which would place that of John at the summer solstice, when they begin to decrease, also gratified the love of a mystical interpretation of the language of Scripture. It gave, as it was discovered, to the affirmation, "He must increase, but I must decrease," a deep-hidden meaning. In the absence of evidence, however, we will not undertake to affirm for what reasons the Romans adopted the 25th of December as the day of the festival of the Nativity.*

The sum of the whole is, that, besides the weekly festival of Sunday, there are two annual festivals (those of the Resurrection of Christ and the Descent of the Spirit, or Easter and Whitsunday), or rather one festival of fifty days, including both, which dates back to an indefinitely remote period of Christian antiquity; that the festival of the Baptism of Jesus came next, and, last, that of his Nativity; that this last was wholly unknown for some centuries after the apostolic age; that it is not alluded to by any very ancient Christian writer, by Justin Martyr or Tertullian; that it was unknown to the learned Origen, near the middle of the third century; that Clement of Alexandria does not mention the festival, and speaks of the vain labor of some antiquaries who attempted to fix the date of the Saviour's birth, who agreed in nothing except in placing it in the spring months of April or May; that the festival was first celebrated in January, in connection with the festival of the Manifestation; that Chrysostom, who represents the opinions of the Oriental Church, was ignorant, if not of the festival itself, yet certainly of the present period of its celebration, near the end of the fourth century; and, finally, that the festival came from the West, and not, like all the more ancient festivals, from the East.

The true explanation of the origin of both the more ancient festivals (Easter and Whitsunday) is, that they were Jewish feasts, — continued among the Jewish Christians, and afterwards, it is impossible to say when, adopted by the Gentile

* See Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, ii. 619, etc.

believers; Christ having consecrated them anew, the one by his death and resurrection, and the other by the outpouring of the Spirit upon the Apostles. Neither of them was instituted by Christians; neither of them originated in purely Christian ideas, as is shown by the testimony of Origen, already referred to, and in confirmation of which we might adduce a multitude of passages from the early Christian writers to the same point.* But there was in existence among the Jews no festival on which Christmas could be ingrafted; and this, and the fact that it was not customary in the early ages to celebrate the birthdays, but only the deaths, of distinguished individuals,

* We give the following extract from the Manichean Faustus partly as well illustrating the Christian idea of worship at the time the Manicheans were separated from the Church, in the third century; and partly because we wish to say a word or two of the Manicheans in connection with the festival of Christmas. The passage is preserved by Augustine, in his reply to Faustus the Manichean. "The Pagans," says Faustus, "think to worship the Divinity by altars, temples, images, victims, and incense. I differ much from them in this, who regard myself, if I am worthy, as the reasonable temple of God, the living image of his living Majesty. I accept Jesus Christ as his image; the mind, imbued with good knowledge and disciplined in virtue, I regard as the true altar; and the honor to be rendered to the Divinity, and the sacrifices to be offered, I place in prayers alone, and those pure and simple." — *Contra Faust.*, lib. xx. c. 8.

We do not remember to have seen it noticed as an argument for the late origin of the festival of the Nativity, that the Manicheans, who were separated from the Church, as we have said, in the third century, did not observe it, though they observed both the old feasts of Easter and Pentecost. Yet the argument has some weight, if any subsidiary evidence were needed in a matter so plain. In their forms as well as their general idea of worship, the Manicheans retained much of the old simplicity; and, from the time of their being excluded from the Church, they became an independent witness for its more ancient customs. They allowed of no "sensible aids" to worship, which among them consisted, like the old Christian worship, in prayers and singing, to which were added reading from their sacred books, and an address, or exhortation; and they preserved the old congregational discipline. They had, as we have just seen, neither temples nor altars nor statues; they baptized both adults and infants; they did not offer prayers to the dead, and rendered to the martyrs only those honors which were commonly rendered them at the end of the second century; they celebrated the Eucharist, though substituting water for wine, the use of which was forbidden by their ascetic principles; the festivals they celebrated with the simplicity of olden time. With the exception of the wine at the Eucharist, the omission of which is readily explained, we have here as faithful a picture of Christian worship, and the ideas connected with it, in the early part of the third century, as could well be drawn. The entire absence of every trace of the festival of the Nativity only renders it the more exact.

accounts for its late origin. The "Natalia" of the martyrs were kept on the anniversary of their death, — their birth into an immortal existence.

We have no complaint to make of the selection of the 25th of December, as the day for commemorating the birth of the Saviour. It is as good as any other day; it being understood, as we suppose it is, by every one even moderately acquainted with the writings of Christian antiquity, that the true date of the nativity is irrecoverably lost.* For ourselves, we like this festival of Christmas, and would let it stand where it is, and where it has stood ever since the days of Chrysostom at least, — a period of more than fourteen centuries. It matters not in the least that we are ignorant of the real date of the Saviour's birth. We can be just as grateful for his appearance in the world as we could be, did we know the precise day or moment of his entrance into it. Of what consequence is it for us to know the particular day, or even the year, when this light first shone upon the earth, since we know that it has arisen, and we enjoy its lustre and warmth? Of just as little consequence, for all practical purposes, as for the voyager on one of our majestic rivers to be informed of the exact spot in the remote wilds on which the stream takes its rise, since his little bark is borne gayly on by its friendly waters; or for any of us, if our affairs have been long prosperous, to be able to tell how or when, to the fraction of a minute, our prosperity commenced. If we have been in adversity, and light has broken in upon our gloom, and continues to shine upon us, it imports little whether or not we can fix on the exact point of time at which the clouds began to break and scatter. Just so with this Star of Bethlehem, which "shines o'er sin and sorrow's night": the exact moment at which its beams began to be visible over the hills and valleys of Judea is not a subject about which we need perplex ourselves. No royal historiographer was present to chronicle the Saviour's birth; yet, if his spirit be in our hearts, we can, if we approve the observance, commemorate his advent, with all the kindlings of devout

* "I do not believe," says Beausobre (t. ii. p. 692), "that the evangelists themselves knew it. It is evident that St. Luke, who tells us that he *began to be about thirty years of age*, when he was baptized, did not know his precise age."

affection and gratitude, — at our homes, or in our houses of worship, where we have so often met to seek comfort and strength from his words, — on any day which the piety of past ages has set apart for so holy a purpose.

One further remark we would make. We see, in the order in which the festivals arose, important testimony to the truth of Christian history. It could hardly have been different, the facts being supposed true. Christmas could not have preceded in its origin the other festivals founded on the events of the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus, without which there could have been no spiritual Christianity. It must almost of necessity follow them, and grow up from obscure beginnings, as it did, out of the gratitude and love of Christians, making it difficult to trace its origin. All this, we say, was natural, and confirms the truth of Christian history. Reading the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, one would have been surprised to find a festival of the birth of Christ existing from the first. But we are not surprised at finding that the resurrection (without which, according to the Apostle, his preaching and the faith of Christians would be vain) and the descent of the Spirit (which was, in truth, the beginning of spiritual Christianity) were both early celebrated, as we know they were. It was Christ risen and glorified of which these old believers chiefly thought, — the Redeemer from sin, the Leader in the way of immortality, sitting at the right hand of God, — not the infant Christ.

With respect to the uncertainty of the date of Jesus's birth, Dr. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's, London, thus expresses himself: "The year in which Christ was born is still contested. There is still more uncertainty concerning the time of the year, which learned men are still laboring to determine. Where there is and can be no certainty, it is the wisest course to acknowledge our ignorance, and not to claim the authority of historic truth for that which is purely conjectural. The two ablest modern writers who have investigated the chronology of the life of Christ — Dr. Burton and Mr. Greswell — have come to opposite conclusions: one contending for the spring, the other for the autumn. Even if the argument of either had any solid ground to rest on, it would be difficult

(would it be worth while?) to extirpate the traditionary belief so beautifully embodied in Milton's hymn: —

'It was the winter wild
When the Heaven-born child,' &c.

Were the point of the least importance, we should, no doubt, have known more about it." *

The reflection of the learned Dean is judicious. The day and the year, as before said, matter not. We are not so much Christians of the "letter" as to think them of any importance. Let them not be contended about. Let Christmas stand, where it has so long stood, to be observed in honor of the "Heaven-born child." As intelligent Christians, however, it is well to know the "historic truth," and not put certainty for uncertainty in a matter of this sort.

There is no Trinitarianism connected with any of the ancient festivals. Nothing could be further removed from Trinitarianism than the simple ideas on which the Easter festival was founded, — "dead, buried, and, the third day, rose again." "The Logos doctrine" (introduced by the learned converts who came fresh from their Heathen studies), associated in thought with the death and resurrection of Jesus, evidently occasioned some embarrassment in the minds of the Fathers who received it; believing, as they generally did for a long time, that the whole Christ suffered. The simple faith of the early believers was not attended with any difficulties of this sort.

The effusion of the Spirit, or the "pouring it out," as the very terms exclude personality, is not a Trinitarian idea; and the observance of the festival of Pentecost, therefore, in early times, affords no evidence of the Trinitarianism of those times, but was quite compatible with the opinion which Gregory Nazianzen, late in the fourth century, says was entertained by some in his day, — that the Spirit was simply "a mode of divine operation"; some others calling it "God himself"; some, "a creature of God"; and some not knowing what to believe on the subject. It made no difference, so far as the celebration of this festival was concerned, which of these views prevailed.

* *History of Christianity*, p. 57, ed. New York, 1851.

As to Christmas, — the birth-festival, — that, no more than the festival of the Resurrection or the festival of the Spirit, recognizes a Trinity. It would be difficult to extract the Trinity from the angelic song, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men." We may, therefore, add these three festivals — two of them earlier, and one later — to the monuments of Christian antiquity already referred to, as bearing no testimony to the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity.

After what has been said in the foregoing pages, we are prepared to re-assert, in conclusion, that the modern doctrine of the Trinity is not found in any document or relic belonging to the Church of the first three centuries. Letters, art, usage, theology, worship, creed, hymn, chant, doxology, ascription, commemorative rite, and festive observance, so far as any remains or any record of them are preserved, coming down from early times, are, as regards this doctrine, an absolute blank. They testify, so far as they testify at all, to the supremacy of the Father, the only true God; and to the inferior and derived nature of the Son. There is nowhere among these remains a co-equal Trinity. The cross is there; Christ is there as the Good Shepherd, the Father's hand placing a crown, or victor's wreath, on his head; but no undivided Three, — co-equal, infinite, self-existent, and eternal. This was a conception to which the age had not arrived. It was of later origin.

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